

# THE MILITANT

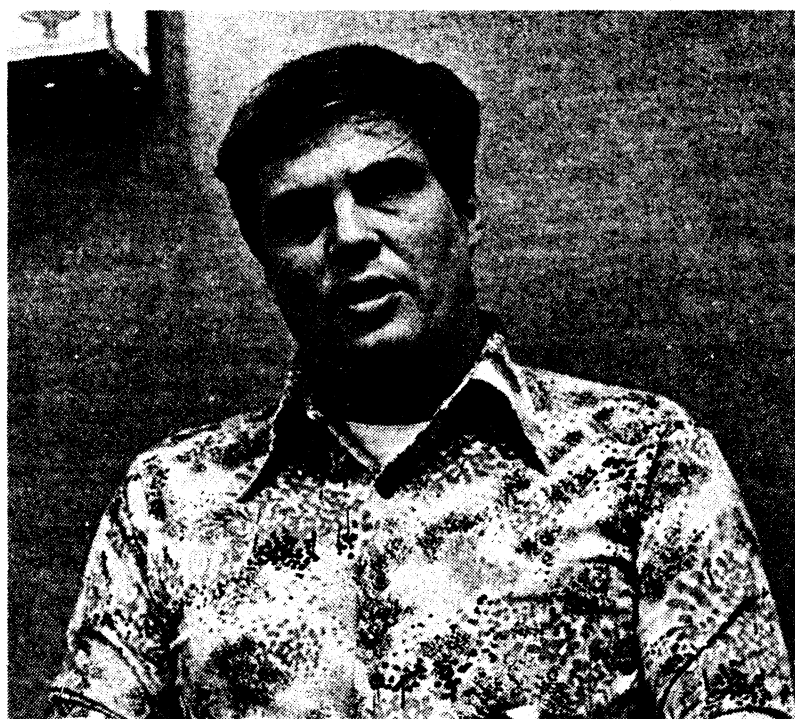
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

**SPECIAL STEEL ISSUE**

# BEHIND THE STEEL UNION ELECTION FIGHT

What a  
Sadlowski  
victory  
can mean

—STEEL SUPPLEMENT, PAGES 15-20  
—ELECTION NEWS, PAGES 4,5



Militant/Stu Singer  
Ed Sadlowski, insurgent candidate for top union post

**UTAH TO MURDER  
GARY GILMORE JAN. 17**

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## THE MILITANT

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

# In Brief

**SUPPORT BUILDS IN MICH. FREE SPEECH FIGHT:** MIT Prof. Noam Chomsky. Joe Madison, president of the Detroit NAACP. Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Eqbal Ahmad of the Institute for Policy Studies. Lehman Brightman of the Native American studies department at Contra Costa College.

These are among the new endorsers of the Committee for Free Speech. The committee was set up to defend three members of the Young Socialist Alliance who each face penalties of up to \$1,650 in fines and six months in jail on charges of "criminal trespass" and "illegally occupying a university building by force."

The three—Brigid Douglas, Tom Smith, and Jim Garrison—were arrested October 20 while distributing Socialist Workers election campaign literature outside a public meeting at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant. A pretrial hearing in their case is set for January 20.

The Committee for Free Speech is sponsoring a rally at CMU on January 27. The committee is asking that telegrams demanding the dropping of all charges be sent to President Harold Abel, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48859. Copies of these telegrams, as well as donations and new endorsements, should be sent to the committee at Post Office Box 626, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

**MINN. COALITION TO PROTEST FBI HARASSMENT:** A January 27 rally at the University of Minnesota's Coffman Union will protest surveillance and harassment by the FBI of a wide range of Minnesota organizations. The rally is being sponsored by the newly formed Minnesota Citizens' Review Commission on the FBI. The rally will be followed by hearings February 3-6 where local groups will present testimony on FBI violations of democratic rights.

Among the organizations sponsoring these protests are the American Friends Service Committee, American Indian Movement, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Honeywell Project, Twin Cities National Organization for Women, and Socialist Workers party.

For more information contact the coalition c/o Minnesota Church Center, 122 West Franklin Avenue, Room 320, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404.

**'ETHNIC PURITY' REIGNS IN PLAINS:** Remember how then-candidate Jimmy Carter "desegregated" his little ole church down in Plains last October? There was only one catch. The application by Black minister Clennon King to join the Plains Baptist Church—and any other applications from Blacks to enter that particular house of the Lord—was referred to a church watch care committee.

On Januray 9 the committee finally made its recommendation. It urged the congregation, which on that day included president-elect Jimmy Carter, to reject applications from Reverend King and two of his supporters (one of whom was also Black). The congregation accepted the recommendation "without opposition."

Although the service was closed to the press, church secretary Hugh Carter justified the decision by saying that King never appeared before the watch care committee after being invited. King says he never received an invitation.

Hugh Carter also said the Black minister had "not shown a willingness to cooperate in carrying out the goals and objectives" of the Plains Baptist Church. Seems the only way a Black person could do that would be by staying as far away as possible!

**ANTI-A-BOMB BANNERS BANNED TOO:** After unfurling a banner reading "Nuclear Weapons Massacre the Innocent" within sight of Jimmy Carter's home in Plains, antiwar activist Philip Berrigan and six others were arrested January 8. Carter was reported to be at home when the arrests occurred.

The day before, charges against Berrigan and his two brothers, Daniel and Jerome, were continued until January 21 by an Alexandria, Virginia, federal magistrate. The three Berrigans had been arrested along with twenty-six others during a December 28 demonstration against nuclear weapons outside the Pentagon.

At the January 7 court session, six of the protesters were given jail sentences. The longest went to anti-Vietnam War activist and former nun Elizabeth McAlister. She was sentenced to six months in jail for throwing blood on the Pentagon during the protest.

**LATINOS PROTEST CHICAGO FIRES:** Twenty-six Latinos, most of them children, were killed in three fires over a recent nine-day period in Chicago's barrios. The latest fire, which took place January 2, killed five people. The blaze occurred less than a block away from the site of a

Christmas Eve fire that killed twelve people.

*Militant* correspondent Joyce Stoller reports that neighbors protested the fatal consequences of the lack of bilingual fire fighters in Chicago. Rescue operations were crippled because firemen were unable to communicate with people trapped in the burning building.

Mary Gonzales, speaking for the Pilsen Neighbors Community Council, charged that three of the city's four snorkel rescue units were used to fight a warehouse fire where no human lives were threatened at the same time five people were consumed in the January 2 blaze.

"What it comes down to," Gonzales said, "is what do the firemen consider more important, human lives or private property?"

**CALIF. CONFERENCE AGAINST BAKKE RULING:** A January 15 conference to organize statewide opposition to the Bakke decision will take place at 12:00 noon in 155 Dwinelle on the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

The Bakke decision is a September 16 ruling by the California Supreme Court attacking special admissions programs for nonwhite students in the University of California system. If left standing, the Bakke ruling would devastate the affirmative-action educational gains of Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans won in the 1960s.

The conference was called by the Bay Area Coalition Against the Bakke Decision. It has been endorsed by *Black Scholar* publisher Robert Chrisman; the Association of Women in Struggle; Lehman Brightman; attorney Howard Moore; the East Bay chapter of the National Organization for Women; Harry Edwards, professor of sociology at UC Berkeley; and others.

James Bell, president of the Hastings Black Law Students Association, and Carol Deberry, president of the East Bay chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, will address the conference.

For more information call (415) 642-4136.

**SUPER BOWL FANS, PLEASE NOTE:** Following all the recent hoopla, you should not forget that women do a lot more than wave pompoms and hop around like bunny rabbits while the big guys score.

It's a good time for this good news: *Sports Illustrated* has named tennis champ Chris Evert top athlete of the year. In 1972 the magazine named Billie Jean King sportswoman of the year along with a sportsman. But now the double criteria and honors have been dropped. No man shares Evert's title.

Also, six other women were cited for special mention: ice skater Dorothy Hamill; skier and cyclist Sheila Young; golfer Judy Rankin; West German skier Rosi Mittermaier; East German swimmer Kornelia Ender; and gymnast Nadia Comaneci.

Also, the Associated Press named Comaneci Female Athlete of the Year.

—Peter Seidman

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## Protests, court challenges continue

# Utah to shoot Gary Gilmore January 17

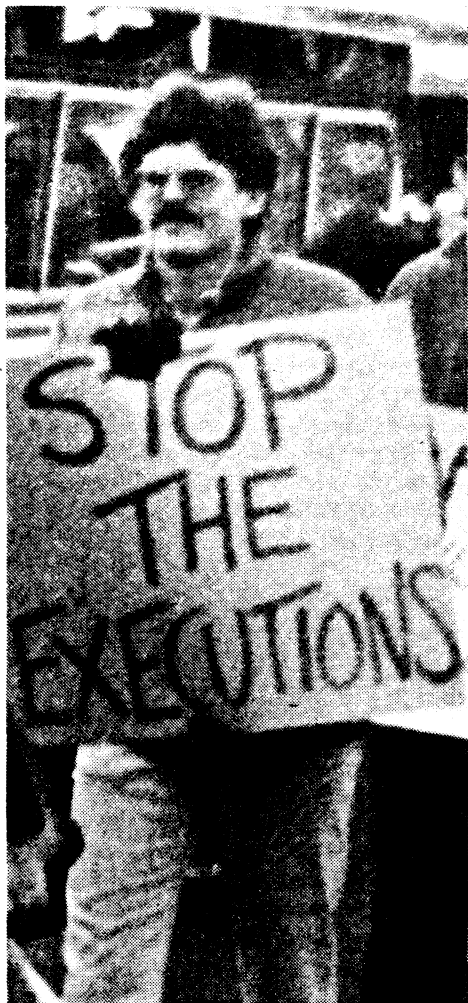
By José G. Pérez

As Gary Gilmore was entering what may be the last week of his life, Utah authorities were making final preparations for what they expect to be the first legal execution in a decade.

At sunset January 9, shots rang out on the Utah State Prison firing range. The word among the prisoners was that Gary Gilmore's firing squad was practicing.

But prison officials have drawn a veil of secrecy around their preparations and would not comment.

"I can't see any legal way that anybody can stop this execution now," said Gilmore's lawyer. And prison officials agreed. "They'll go through with it this time," the head of the prison said.



Militant/Bill Leiman

Nonetheless, the American Civil Liberties Union decided January 10 to file friend-of-the-court briefs in support of a request by two other Utah death row prisoners that Gilmore's execution be put off.

The two men are appealing death sentences handed down to them on the basis that Utah's law is unconstitutional under recent Supreme Court decisions.

Their lawyers argue that if Gilmore is killed, courts will be hesitant to throw out a death penalty statute that has already been applied.

The Utah Citizens Against the Death Penalty have announced a January 15 rally to demand that no executions take place. It will be held at 2:00 p.m. in the auditorium of the State Office Building in Salt Lake City.

Speakers will include Henry Schwartzchild, an official of the national ACLU who also serves as a coordinator of the National Coalition Against the Death Penalty; Rev. Robert Anderson, dean of St. Mark's Episcopal Cathedral; a representative of the NAACP; and others.

The coalition is also sponsoring a predawn picket line January 17 if Gilmore's execution isn't stayed.

Gilmore is scheduled to be shot at sunrise on that day on the grounds of the Utah State Prison. The protest will be held outside the prison gates.

Gary Gilmore is not the only person facing execution during the third week of January. Jerry Lane Jurek is scheduled to be electrocuted January 19 in Texas. A federal judge has authorized televising the execution.

Jurek has exhausted all appeals of his conviction and sentence. But his lawyers are trying to reintroduce the case in court by filing motions saying Jurek is being held unconstitutionally.

Texas courts have already rejected the motion, which is now expected to go before a federal court. If the motion is granted, Jurek's execution will be stayed.

Opponents of the death penalty in Texas are planning protests on January 15. They are also planning vigils before the Gilmore and Jurek executions if these are not stayed.

## Reid: 'A relic of barbarism'

Following is a statement by Willie Mae Reid released in New York January 12. Reid is a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee and was the party's candidate for vice-president in 1976.

The Socialist Workers party opposes the execution of Gary Gilmore and of the hundreds of other prisoners on death rows across this country.

We oppose the idea that the government has a right to kill people.

Gilmore's execution will open the floodgates of legal murder. Jerry Lane Jurek is scheduled to be electrocuted in Texas only two days after Gilmore is shot.

America's wealthy rulers tell us that capital punishment expresses society's moral outrage at crime.

They tell us it no longer discriminates against oppressed minorities and the poor. This is a lie. About half of those under sentence of death today are Blacks—the same proportion executed under the old laws that were struck down as unconstitutional in 1972.

Our rulers tell us that capital punishment is a deterrent to crime. This too is a lie. Many studies have shown that executions do not deter crime.

Crime is caused by capitalism, a social system that puts the private profits of a few individuals above human needs. This social system breeds poverty, racist oppression, and sex discrimination. It is these conditions that drive people to desperation and crime.

Capital punishment is a weapon of race and class oppression, not justice. It is designed to reinforce the profit system by terrorizing the downtrodden, the outcast, the hated—above all Blacks and other minorities.



David Nudel

WILLIE MAE REID

Gary Gilmore's execution must not go unchallenged. The capitalists and their government have decided to restore legalized murder. It is up to us, America's working people, to stop them.

We need to reach out to Black groups, trade unions, campus organizations, women's groups, churches, and civil libertarians to organize rallies, vigils, marches, and other protests. We must organize a movement that can convince the majority of the American people that the death penalty is a relic of barbarism.

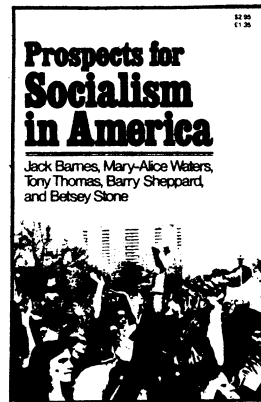
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# Steel election battle enters

By Michael Gillespie

Last month Lynn Williams, a candidate on the "official family" slate in the United Steelworkers of America election, told a Chicago steelworker that the union campaign has three stages: the convention last August, the nominating period last November, and the membership referendum election in February.

Williams asserted that insurgent candidate Ed Sadlowski had been beaten by outgoing USWA President I.W. Abel at the convention and by Lloyd McBride, Abel's chosen successor, in the nominations.

That may be true, the steelworker replied. But only the last stage counts, and that's when the members vote.

Starting with the convention—which was stacked with hundreds of union staff representatives and local officers tied to the Abel bureaucracy—each successive "stage" of the campaign allows for a greater participation of the union membership.

The nominations voting shows that the more the ranks have a chance to express their opinion, the greater is the support for Ed Sadlowski and his Steelworkers Fight Back slate.

**MORE STEEL COVERAGE** appears on pages 15-20.

According to official union figures released in January, a total of 521 USWA locals nominated Sadlowski, far surpassing the 140 nominations needed for ballot status.

Nominations for the Fight Back slate came from all of the union's twenty-five geographic districts and from all of the major industry groups represented by the USWA.

(Fewer than 400,000 of the USWA's 1.4 million members work in basic steel production. The rest are in metal fabricating plants, can manufacturing, aluminum, nonferrous metals, chemical plants, and many other occupations.)

## How vote is rigged

The nominations procedure was heavily weighted toward the union bureaucracy, which piled up 2,901 local nominations for McBride.

Most locals hold their nominations vote at regular local union meetings, which are usually sparsely attended except for the local officials and their coterie of supporters.

New nominations rules were in force



STEELWORKERS FIGHT BACK SLATE: From left, 'Nash' Rodríguez, secretary; Marvin Weinstock, vice-president (administration); Ed Sadlowski, president; Andrew Kmec, treasurer; Oliver Montgomery, vice-president (human affairs).

this year. Local members could not put forward names from the floor at the nominations meetings, but had to submit them in writing forty-eight hours in advance.

This procedure—unfamiliar to most members—put a challenger at a disadvantage against a machine-backed candidate.

There was no secret ballot in the overwhelming majority of locals, so that the pressure of staff representatives and local officers was direct and intimidating.

This staff apparatus pressure was united behind McBride. It was especially strong in the smaller shops, which are vulnerable to the whims and reprisals of the international union staffperson who "represents" them.

Some 75 percent of the USWA's 5,400 locals have fewer than 250 members. Only 192 locals have more than 1,000 members. Thus the small shops, with only 25 percent of the membership, form the large bulk of the nominating units.

In addition, Sadlowski charges widespread fraud in some areas, including illegal adjournment of meetings, refusal to accept Sadlowski nominating papers, and intimidation of Fight Back supporters.

Despite these pressures the Sadlowski slate received a respectable number of nominations, reflecting both the bases of support and areas of weak-

ness of the Fight Back campaign.

Sadlowski ran well in basic steel and other major industry-conference locals in the Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago-Gary areas. His slate received overwhelming support in many of the biggest locals.

He was nominated by roughly one-third of the 192 big locals, a much higher proportion than Fight Back's 15 percent of the total nominations. In the Youngstown district and two of the three Pittsburgh-area districts, locals nominating Sadlowski represented a majority of the district membership.

The big basic steel mills have provided support for opposition movements in the USWA since the 1950s.

Workers in basic steel—and in other major industry conferences such as aluminum and can—tend to have a greater interest in union politics because they work under nationally negotiated master contracts. They have an immediate test of the performance of the international officers.

These workers have seen thousands of jobs lost through Abel's cooperation with the employers' productivity drives. They know the bureaucracy's callous attitude toward health and safety issues, and its acceptance of racial and sexual discrimination on the job.

The big vote for Sadlowski in these locals—most of which are controlled by pro-McBride local officers and sent pro-Abel delegates to the convention—is a direct repudiation of the bureaucracy's policies. It indicates a vast reservoir of support for Sadlowski in this section of the union.

## Weak areas

Lack of a deeply rooted campaign organization in most areas restricted broader knowledge of and support for Sadlowski.

The Steelworkers Fight Back movement originated in the Chicago-Gary district, which elected Sadlowski district director in 1974. Until Sadlowski announced his presidential campaign last September, there was virtually no Fight Back organization in other areas.

Unlike the McBride campaign, which has more than 800 union staff representatives working for it and the united support of the top officialdom, Sadlowski's campaign relies on the volunteer efforts of rank-and-file steelworkers.

Despite McBride's charges of "outside" financial backing for Sadlowski, the insurgent has raised his campaign money from the ranks. He has been unable to match McBride's bankroll supplied by enforced contributions from the staff, union officers, and officials of other AFL-CIO unions. It has been difficult for Fight Back to get out enough campaign materials, litera-

ture, and organizers to reach all the members.

The Fight Back slate ran weakest in the Deep South states and in Canada.

In the South, physical intimidation of Sadlowski supporters was rampant. In Texas and elsewhere, Fight Back campaigners have been physically attacked. One was shot while leafletting in Houston last summer. Local officers often show little pretense of following democratic procedures.

Steelworkers Fight Back faces a number of problems in Canada. There is an element of "favorite son" voting

## Vote fraud cover-up prepared

The U.S. Labor Department has accepted Abel and McBride's request for "technical assistance" in the steelworkers election and rejected Ed Sadlowski's call for "full and complete" supervision to forestall vote fraud.

The government announced January 4 it would set up a "task force" to give the candidates "advice and opinions" and that it would send two compliance officers to each of the union's twenty-two U.S. districts.

Two officers per district will obviously be unable to observe more than a handful of polling places February 8. The Labor Department rejected watching all the polls, saying that would cost "millions of dollars."

Sadlowski's attorney Joseph Rauh promptly denounced the task force plan as "a sham intended to put a 'Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval' on a corrupt election."

Blasting the Labor Department for "buckling under to the power of the 'Official Family' of the USWA," Rauh said the Sadlowski campaign would refuse to participate or lend credence to the task force.

Rauh charged that the government's plan to supervise the tabulation of the tally of local union vote totals is "particularly fraudulent."

"They have agreed to being adding machines at the only time things can't go wrong," he said, "but the need is Labor Department supervision at the polls where all the ballot stuffing goes on, and in the field where there are 800 staffers working full time for McBride."

## Hear Jack Barnes,

National secretary of the Socialist Workers party.



## SADLOWSKI'S CHALLENGE IN STEEL

### What it means for U.S. politics

**CHICAGO** Friday, January 28. For information on time and place call (312) 939-0737.

**PITTSBURGH** Sunday, January 30. For information call (412) 441-1419.

**CLEVELAND** Wednesday, February 2. For information call (216) 861-4166.

**HOUSTON** Saturday, February 5. For information call (713) 526-1082.



# final weeks

for Lynn Williams, District 6 director in Ontario and McBride's candidate for USWA secretary.

Many Canadian workers view American-dominated union election campaigns with general indifference. They are not affected by some of the key issues in the Sadlowski-McBride contest, since Canadian steelworkers ratify all their contracts and are not covered by Abel's no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

Fight Back's lack of funds and personnel has also delayed production of French-language literature, which is essential for reaching Québécois workers.

Canadian steelworkers have demonstrated great militancy, however, especially in the fight against wage controls, and are deeply distrustful of the Abel bureaucracy. If Fight Back begins to reach larger numbers of these workers with its program, Canada could become a stronghold rather than a weak spot for the campaign.

## Victories for democracy

In the course of the campaign so far, Fight Back has won some important court victories opening up the elections and making it more difficult for the bureaucracy to use the union's monthly paper, *Steel Labor*, as a factional tool.

Through a lawsuit against illegal factional misuse of *Steel Labor* to attack Fight Back, Sadlowski won in November the right to view forthcoming issues in advance and contest biased articles.

Even more important, the court settlement provided for both candidates to send one mailing at union expense to every member of the United Steelworkers. That mailing goes out this month.

The international union has also  
*Continued on page 30*

## Sadlowski discloses finances

Ed Sadlowski opened his campaign finance records at a Chicago news conference January 9, demonstrating the fraud of McBride's charge that Steelworkers Fight Back is bankrolled by "employers" and "wealthy outsiders."

Sadlowski said he had raised \$150,000 since launching his presidential campaign last September 13 and spent \$207,600. The campaign is heavily in debt.

Of the funds raised, \$120,000 came in donations from steelworkers. Individuals not in the USWA also made contributions of \$26,000 in amounts of \$500 and over and \$4,000 in smaller donations.

In addition, Sadlowski noted that steelworkers had donated vast amounts of volunteer time, the equivalent of more than \$400,000 at the average hourly wage in steel.

Sadlowski said he would continue to appeal for contributions from those outside the USWA who support democratic trade unionism. He emphatically denied receiving any money from employer sources. Sadlowski accused McBride of conducting "a vile, slanderous, and malicious smear campaign" around the question of outside contributions.

He charged Abel and McBride with "misuse of union funds" and with "dunning the staff" to finance McBride's campaign.

## District 31 campaign

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—The nominations in District 31 were among the most hotly contested bouts between Steelworkers Fight Back and the Abel-McBride forces.

The union bureaucracy went all out to embarrass insurgent candidate Ed Sadlowski in his home district, the Chicago-Gary steel belt.

When the nominations period closed on December 8, Sadlowski had won about eighty-four local union nominations from District 31—twice the number he garnered when he first ran for district director in 1973.

Sadlowski secured many more nominations this time from locals outside the basic steel industry. His support was also more geographically widespread throughout the 130,000-member district.

The McBride slate, however, was still able to capture the nominations of most of the district's 237 locals. These were mostly small shops, but the total also included three of the largest basic

steel locals and several locals that backed Sadlowski in 1973.

The nominations race took place against the background of Sadlowski's past two years as district director.

During that time, all of Sadlowski's staff appointments—including a Black man and a Black woman—have been vetoed by Abel. The old staff, which campaigned for Sadlowski's opponent in 1973, has been given the green light to sabotage Sadlowski's administration.

This is followed up by propaganda blaming Sadlowski for any and all inadequacies of union representation. The Abel-McBride forces hope through this dishonest ploy to focus discontent on Sadlowski and divert attention from their own bureaucratic abuse of power that has put factional gain above the interests of the district's membership.

Meanwhile, some dozen candidates, nearly all of them staff representatives, launched campaigns for district director during the nominations period. These staffers not only ran aggressive campaigns for themselves but also made certain that McBride's campaign reached into every subdistrict and local union they service.

Not surprisingly, they failed to point out that their campaigns were made possible by the new atmosphere of democracy under Sadlowski's administration. No such challenges to an incumbent director were allowed under the decades-long dictatorship of former director Joe Germano.

The national McBride campaign threw money, energy, and time into District 31. The entire McBride slate spent a week of the month-long nominations period in the district. Rallies  
*Continued on page 30*



Jim Balanoff, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for District 31 director.

## Perspectiva Mundial: 'A real breakthrough'

By José G. Pérez

NEW YORK—"There's never been anything like it in the history of the radical movement in the United States," said Catarino Garza, longtime leader of the Socialist Workers party, discussing the first issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, dated January 24.

*Perspectiva Mundial* (World Outlook) is a Spanish-language magazine published every other week. It is the first magazine in Spanish to be produced by revolutionary socialists in this country.

The *Militant* interviewed Catarino Garza and Olga Rodríguez, members of the SWP National Committee, and Mirta Vidal, editor of the new publication.

"*Perspectiva Mundial* is a real breakthrough," Rodríguez said. "In general, the Spanish-language press in the United States has many shortcomings."

"The commercial newspapers and magazines tend to be crime and scandal sheets," Rodríguez said. "And the Chicano and Puerto Rican movement press have very small staffs and concentrate most of their resources on covering what is going on in the communities."

Mirta Vidal said *Perspectiva Mundial* "will be different. We will concentrate on socialist reporting and analysis of the big political questions in the world."

"Many articles will be translated from *Intercontinental Press*, and thus *Perspectiva* will be able to draw on that magazine's resources and network of correspondents around the world," Vidal said.

"*Perspectiva Mundial* has as its goal the same standards of factual accuracy and precise translation that *Intercontinental Press* maintains."

"Therefore," Vidal concluded, "it will be a unique and invaluable resource for political activists and students of Latin America and world affairs."

Garza said he expects the magazine to be distributed primarily in Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other Latino communities.

"I know that Librería Militante, the socialist bookstore in my barrio, the Lower East Side of New York, has ordered a bundle of *Perspectiva*."

"And some of the more enthusiastic militants of the Socialist Workers party in the Bronx were talking about selling it on street corners."

Garza said he wasn't sure it was the kind of periodical that could generally be hawked on street corners. "It has a special audience in mind, primarily those already interested in political affairs."

"But I think it will sell well in bookstores, on literature tables at meetings in defense of Latin American political prisoners, and at demonstrations supporting the rights of undocumented workers."

Garza said the magazine will also be distributed in Spanish-speaking countries. "I visited Puerto Rico recently," he said, "and I know the Trotskyists there were planning to sell it along with their own newspaper, *La Verdad*."

The first issue includes an analysis of South Africa's Bantustans—the supposedly autonomous Black areas within South Africa. "In reality," Vidal said, "they are more like the Indian reservations in the United States."

There is also an analysis of the international economic situation by Ernest Mandel, one of the world's foremost Marxist economists; and an interview with Miguel Antonio Bernal, a Panamanian revolutionist who recently toured the United States.

"The interview with Bernal is an example of the unique coverage *Perspectiva Mundial* provides," Vidal said.

"He is not a sideline commentator, but a participant in the struggles he describes."

Other articles in the first issue include an analysis of the politics behind the purge of the "Gang of Four" in China and a report on new revelations of CIA spying and disruption of the SWP and the Fourth International.

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## Perspectiva Mundial

A través de este esfuerzo, queremos presentar a nuestros compañeros de habla hispana un bisemanario de noticias y análisis de los más importantes acontecimientos mundiales.

Además, en los primeros números serán incluidos los temas siguientes:

- La caída de la libra y la lira, por Ernesto Mandel
- Los primeros años de Mao Tsetung
- La política de los Bantustán en Sudáfrica
- Asia: Un año de represión y agitación
- Artículos de León Trotsky
- Entrevista con el exilado revolucionario panameño, Miguel Antonio Bernal: "Por Qué Se Aferra el Pentágono a Panamá".

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## 600 rally in Indianapolis

# Hoosiers, Georgians demand: 'Ratify ERA!'

By Carole McKee

INDIANAPOLIS—"The only way politicians will listen to us is if we are bigger, louder, and better organized than the right wing."

Enthusiastic and determined cheers greeted this statement by Carol Coates, a leader of the Louisville National Organization for Women, at an indoor rally here January 9. Despite subzero temperatures and eight inches of snow, 600 Equal Rights Amendment supporters attended the rally sponsored by NOW. Two hundred people marched from the state capitol to the rally.

Buses and carloads of ERA advocates rolled in for the action to make Indiana the thirty-fifth state to ratify the ERA. They came from many cities in Indiana and surrounding states.

The week before the demonstration, 1,200 people packed subcommittee hearings at the state capitol. Two-thirds of the crowd were on the side of the United Auto Workers, NOW, and others testifying for ratification.

The anti-ERA speakers list read like a Who's Who of America's right wing: Stop ERA, Indiana Farm Bureau, American Legion, and a host of Bible thumpers.

All week Stop ERA head Phyllis Schlafly coordinated anti-ERA rallies, picket lines, and vigils. At a news conference she denounced the January



Marchers in Indianapolis brave stormy weather for ERA

9 NOW action as the work of "lesbians" and "the Socialist Workers party."

Despite the right wing's attempts to scare people away from the pro-ERA demonstration by such red-baiting and lesbian-baiting, the rally exemplified the broad unity behind women's rights.

Rally speakers included: Sue Errington, Indiana State NOW coordinator; Betty Coke, ninety-one-year-old veteran suffragist; Jane Wells-Schooly and Eleanor Smeal of the NOW National Board; Ruth Evans, campaign manager of ERA Indiana; and Marion Wagner, president of Indianapolis NOW.

The crowd responded enthusiastically to the speech by Carol Coates, ERA task force director of Louisville NOW.

Coates stressed the urgency of countering the attacks on women's rights. "Perhaps the most deadly setback for women this fall," she said, "came with the Hyde amendment to the [Health, Education and Welfare] bill. This amendment takes away the right of

poor women to use Medicaid for abortions."

Coates scored liberal politicians, such as Bella Abzug, who voted for the amendment.

She explained what's behind the recent setbacks for women's rights: "What's wrong is that we've been getting some bad advice. For the past few years we've been told, 'Keep quiet. Don't step on anyone's toes. Don't make demands.'" This advice from politicians in New York and New Jersey, Coates said, led to the defeat of state ERA referenda there in 1975.

As Coates continued, the crowd responded with several standing ovations.

"Rumors have been flying that Carter has promised to get the ERA ratified in three states this year if we can win the fourth," Coates reported. "Well, why won't he give us all four [needed to complete federal ratification]? Does he expect us to keep quiet about all the other attacks on women's rights in exchange for his 'generosity' on the ERA?"

"The only promise the new adminis-

tration should get from women is that until the attacks stop on affirmative action, Medicaid-funded abortions, child care and the ERA, we will be in the streets demanding our rights!"

The local press and radio and TV stations gave prominent coverage to the rally.

\* \* \*

By Linda Millwood

ATLANTA—Activists attending a January 7-8 conference at Georgia State University expressed determination to keep up public pressure until Georgia ratifies the Equal Rights Amendment.

More than 200 ERA supporters at the Friday night rally heard Atlanta YWCA President Palacia Seaman; Dan Wright, representing the National Education Association; Atlanta NOW President Sharon Adams; Guy Baker, Council 3 president of the International Chemical Workers Union; and representatives of the Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance, Georgia Civil Liberties Union, and Abortion Rights Action League.

Participants were encouraged by recent statements in support of ratification by major news media and many prominent individuals.

Several rally speakers pointed out that ratification is not the end of the struggle for women's rights. Speaking from her experience in the Black rights struggle, Myriam Richmond, WAOK news director, stated, "I see the ERA victory as one . . . that stands us in good stead only if we understand that the fight must go on."

Nancy Council of Georgians for the ERA said, "The momentum is on our side and we have great hope for victory. But we must remain vigilant and continue to build even more public support for ERA."

The following day activists discussed proposals for ERA activities on International Women's Day presented by Georgians for the ERA and the GSU Women's Coalition. Workshops also discussed women and employment, Black women, and tactics to win the ERA.

## 68% say yes

RICHMOND, Va.—ERA Week began here January 8 with a weekend of workshops—ERA Facts for Action—attended by 120 women. Leading up to the activities, newspaper articles and talk shows focused on the amendment. A Richmond Newspaper poll reported that ratification is supported by a 68 percent majority in the city.

The culmination of ERA Week will be a January 15 Open Air Speak-Out at noon in Monroe Park.

# Actions will protest anti-abortion rights drive

By Ginny Hildebrand

Since January 22, 1973, when the Supreme Court overturned most restrictive state abortion laws, right-wing forces have used this date to mobilize against women's right to choose.

This year, abortion rights supporters are planning activities in defense of the historic court ruling. A focus for protest will be the Hyde amendment. If implemented, this congressional ban on federally funded abortions will deny access to safe, legal abortions to hundreds of thousands of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and other working women.

**Washington, D.C.** Kicking off the weekend will be a forum, 8:00 p.m. January 21, at All Souls Church. Attorney Sarah Weddington will be the featured speaker. Weddington argued the Texas abortion suit that became a basis for the Supreme Court's 1973 ruling.

Sponsors of the meeting are the Washington, D.C., chapter of the National Organization for Women; Abortion Rights of Washington, D.C.; Socialist Workers party; Women's Health Network; and Northern Virginia NOW Task Force for Reproductive Choice.

**New York:** January 22, Dr. Kenneth Edelin will address a 2:00 p.m. meeting at the Washington Square Methodist Church. In 1975 an all-white jury convicted this Black Boston physi-

cian of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion. The conviction was overturned last month.

Also speaking are Gloria Steinem and State Sen. Carol Bellamy.

**Milwaukee:** Activists have planned an abortion rights speak-out for 1:00 p.m. on January 22 at the YWCA. The event will feature a documentary film, *It Happens to Us*.

Sponsors include University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee (UWM) women's groups, the state National Association of Social Workers, NOW, Coalition for the Right to Choice, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Throughout the following week, "Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide!" will be the theme of workshops, films, and displays at UWM.

**Seattle:** Demonstrators will gather January 22 at 1:00 p.m. in Freeway Park and march to an indoor rally at Gethsemane Church. The actions' endorsers include the American Civil Liberties Union, NOW, National Abortion Rights Action League, SWP, and Radical Women.

**Tacoma, Washington:** January 22, Abortion Action Day, begins at 12:00 noon at the YWCA on Broadway. There will be films and speeches by Connie McCloud of the Indian Community Clinic, Judy Fortier, head of the Women's Rights Division of the Tacoma Relations Commission, and others.

The Urban League, SWP, and

YWCA are among the many sponsors.

**Minneapolis:** Twin Cities NOW is sponsoring a 2:00 p.m. rally January 22 at the YWCA. Speakers will include Dr. Jerome, director of Teenage Medical Services in Minneapolis; Betty Benjamin, president of the Abortion Rights Council; and Jill Lakowske, chairperson of the Women's Rights Committee of Minneapolis Federation of Teachers Local 59.

**St. Paul:** St. Paul NOW has also called for a January 22 rally at the downtown YWCA at 2:00 p.m. Speakers include Ellin Skinner of the National Women's Political Caucus, and representatives of the Republican, Democratic Farmer Labor, and the Socialist Workers parties.

**Philadelphia:** NOW is sponsoring a January 22 Conference to Safeguard Abortion Rights and Stop Sterilization Abuses. The Philadelphia County District Nurses Association has endorsed the gathering, which begins at 1:30 p.m. at Hospital Workers 1199-C Union Hall on Race Street.

**Cleveland:** Weekend activities begin January 22 with a noon picket line at St. John's Cathedral. The next day speeches and workshops will begin at 2:00 p.m. at Cleveland State University. Speakers include Father Joseph O'Rourke from Catholics for a Free Choice and Eva Janecek, president of Ohio NOW.

**Toledo:** A January 22 1:00 p.m. speak-out at the University of Toledo

will feature representatives from NOW and abortion clinics. Sponsors include Toledo and Bowling Green NOW chapters, Toledo Medical Services Center, and the SWP.

**Chicago:** Feminists at the University of Illinois Circle Campus are sponsoring a panel discussion on abortion the afternoon of January 20.

**New Orleans:** The American Civil Liberties Union has called for an Abortion Conference January 29 at Tulane Law School.

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# Defense attorney explains WHERE THE CASE OF GARY TYLER STANDS TODAY



GARY TYLER Militant/Barbara Mutnick

What is the present status of Gary Tyler's court battle for his life and freedom?

The Louisiana Black teen-ager is still in the shadow of the electric chair.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the death penalty law under which Tyler was sentenced, and although the Louisiana Supreme Court has ruled that the state's new death penalty law cannot be applied retroactively, prosecutors continue to press for the convening of a special jury to resentence Gary Tyler either to life imprisonment or death in the electric chair.

That is the essence of the prosecutors' brief submitted to the state supreme court last November 10 at a hearing on Gary's appeal for a new trial. The court could hand down its decision on the case as early as January 24.

The Gary Tyler Defense Fund, coordinated by Gary's mother, Mrs. Juanita Tyler, interviewed Jack Peebles, Gary's defense attorney, after the November 10 hearing.

Below are excerpts from the interview and introduction distributed by the defense fund. The complete text can be obtained from: Gary Tyler Defense Fund, c/o Juanita Tyler, 736 Mockingbird Lane, Destrehan, Louisiana 70047. Telephone: (504) 729-0605.

Gary Tyler was 16 years old when he was framed for the Oct. 7, 1974, murder of 13-year-old Timothy Weber outside Destrehan High School during a racial disturbance. When St. Charles Parish authorities finally brought him to trial in November, 1975, he was tried before an all-white jury, convicted, and sentenced to die in the electric chair by Judge Ruche Marino.

Gary's family got a new lawyer, Jack Peebles, and in April, 1976, the state's star witness, Natalie Blanks, testified at a hearing for a new trial that police and prosecutors had forced her to lie at the trial, that in fact she had not seen anyone fire a gun.

This hearing for a new trial was held before Judge Marino. He turned down the request. In July, 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned Louisiana's application of the death penalty. Gary was taken off death row and placed in the St. James Parish jail in Convent, La. 70723. He can be written there.

**Jack Peebles:** On Nov. 10 we argued orally Gary's appeal. This included argument regarding his motion for a new trial, argument regarding the alleged errors that were made during the course of the trial, and argument regarding a motion which we filed that Gary should be discharged because no court now has jurisdiction over him.

**Defense Fund:** What are the legal grounds for freeing Gary?

**Peebles:** That has to do with a motion to discharge Gary on grounds that no court now has jurisdiction to sentence him. Gary was a juvenile at the time he was charged with this crime. The U.S. Supreme Court has handed down a decision saying that no capital penalty can be meted out in Louisiana, based upon the murder statute in force at the time Gary was charged.

Now at the time Gary was tried, a juvenile could only be tried in the

district court, which is our court of general jurisdiction, in a case in which death was the appropriate penalty. If he didn't receive a capital penalty the case had to be remanded to juvenile court.

Therefore we are insisting that, first of all, because the Louisiana death penalty was declared unconstitutional, this case should be remanded to juvenile court.

**Defense Fund:** What are the legal grounds for a new trial?

**Peebles:** We alleged six errors which we feel are all substantial and indicate that Gary should be given a new trial.

In Louisiana, in order to find a person guilty of first-degree murder under the section of the statute under which Gary was charged, you have to find that the shot was fired with intent to harm more than one person. If you fire a weapon with intent to harm one person, that was second-degree murder in Louisiana.

The prosecutor sought a first-degree murder verdict, and he got it. The reason he got it, we believe, was because he argued to the jury that if in fact more than one person was injured as a result of the shot that was fired, then the jury must presume that the person who fired the shot intended to harm more than one person.

The court charged the jury with a special charge requested by the state, which we feel backed up that argument.

Of course we insist that Gary did not fire any shot, as Gary has always maintained.

But as a matter of law we think it's an error to charge the jury that it must presume intent on the part of a defendant, and that's one of the bases for our request for a new trial.

**Defense Fund:** The second person they claim was wounded said he was only nicked and did not even have to see a doctor.

**Peebles:** Yes. He testified at the trial that he had a scar on his arm about half-an-inch long as a result of something that happened at the time and he assumed that it resulted from the bullet that struck Timothy Weber.

Now in addition, we asked for a new trial on the grounds of newly discovered evidence. As you recall, the chief prosecution witness, Natalie Blanks—the only witness who said that she saw Gary fire a shot, testified at a post-trial hearing in April of this year that what she had said at the trial was not true, and in fact that she had been pressured into giving that statement.

We also produced evidence that Natalie had obtained immunity from prosecution. Further, Natalie's attorney testified that this immunity was deliberately kept from the jury so that they would not be aware of the fact that Natalie was testifying under immunity.

**Defense Fund:** If a new trial is granted what then?

**Peebles:** If a new trial is granted, presumably it will be in the district court, if you assume that they do not remand it to the juvenile court. But in any event, if a new trial is granted, one of the first things we'll try to do is move the case to a different location. Then we will try to quash the indictment on grounds that the grand jury which indicted Gary was illegally constituted.

**Defense Fund:** What do you mean by "illegally constituted"?

**Peebles:** According to our investigation there were only two Blacks on the grand jury and only one of them showed up any appreciable amount of the time. Since there were 16 grand jurors, this was a disproportionate representation, and we would like to find out why there were not more Blacks on the grand jury.

**Defense Fund:** Blacks are about 30 percent of St. Charles Parish.

**Peebles:** Yes. Then of course we will try to get more information for the next trial. We'll try to find out where this weapon came from that was produced at the trial and claimed to be the weapon used in the perpetration of this offense. We will try to get ballistics experts and chemists and other experts not used by the defense at the first trial.

**Defense Fund:** And if the appeal for a new trial is turned down?

**Peebles:** Then our next procedural step is to ask the U.S. Supreme Court to review the case. If they refuse to review it then we are back starting all over again with a writ of habeas corpus in the state court asking that Gary be given a new trial. We hope that it won't have to go that far.

## Cops raid Tyler home

By Joel Aber

**NEW ORLEANS**—The same police and prosecutors who framed up Gary Tyler two years ago are now trying to terrorize his family.

On January 5 they arrested Gary's nineteen-year-old brother Steven Tyler and laid siege to the Tyler home for six hours.

At 10:00 a.m. the Tylers heard a knock on the door of their home in St. Rose, Louisiana.

Two plainclothes sheriff's deputies brandishing rifles ordered Juanita Tyler and her son Steven to step outside where both were frisked. The cops claimed that a car had been stolen and that a dog had trailed Steven from the scene.

They carted Steven Tyler off to the sheriff's substation at New Sarpy.

Meanwhile, three more carloads of deputies arrived. So did Assistant St. Charles Parish District Attorney Norman Pietri, the chief prosecutor in the frame-up murder trial of Gary Tyler. They surrounded the home for the next six hours.

At the sheriff's substation, the cops dropped their allegation about the stolen car. Instead they put Steven Tyler in a police lineup in a robbery case. The robbery victim told the cops that Steven definitely was not the man who robbed her.

Later that afternoon the police produced a search warrant and entered the Tyler home saying that they were looking for "\$10,000 to \$14,000."

The police took several items of clothing and Juanita Tyler's legally registered pistol from the Tyler home.

"They came to shake me up," says Juanita Tyler.

During the search, the police made reference to Gary Tyler's appeal for a new trial. "When is that case coming up?" one of the cops asked another.

Police have repeatedly harassed the Tyler family ever since Juanita Tyler began to organize the public defense effort to free her son. Steven and Gary's younger brother Terry have suffered numerous arrests on trumped-up charges.

Jack Peebles, attorney for the Tylers, charges that Steven Tyler's arrest was "contrary to law." Steven Tyler was never booked and never informed of any charges against him.

Peebles will file a motion for the return of all property confiscated from the Tyler home. Other legal action against the police is being explored.



# New FBI guidelines authorize government

By Diane Wang

The Justice Department acted January 5 to defend the FBI from further criticism and expand the use of government informers. Attorney General Edward Levi issued guidelines to legitimize the activities of FBI undercover operatives.

The guidelines were prompted by a scandal that erupted six months ago. On July 7 Timothy Redfearn, an FBI informer posing as a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, broke into the Socialist Workers party headquarters and stole four cartons of files.

Because the SWP and YSA are in the midst of a \$40 million lawsuit against government harassment, they were able to force the government to produce Redfearn's complete FBI record. That record, containing evidence of other burglaries, fueled a national barrage of criticism against the FBI.

The guidelines issued January 5 are supposed to answer that criticism. Actually, under the guise of cleaning up the FBI, the guidelines extend official authorization for the use of informers as political spies and weapons against dissenters.

## 'Unsavoury' characters

In an affidavit for the SWP and YSA lawsuit an FBI official admitted that informer activity "has always held an unsavoury connotation." There is good

reason for that despised reputation.

Informers act as provocateurs. They try to stir up dissension and violence and to set up victims for frame-ups and assassinations.

William O'Neal, the FBI's operator in the Black Panther party, is a good example. He provided the floor plan of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark's apartment for the police attack that killed these Panther leaders.

Gary Rowe, to cite another example, was the FBI's man in the Ku Klux Klan. He participated in the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights worker. He also helped the Klan beat pro-desegregation Freedom Riders in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1961.

The FBI also bought a \$10,000 to \$20,000 arsenal for informer Howard Godfrey. Godfrey's right-wing Secret Army Organization harassed and shot at San Diego anti-Vietnam War activists.

The government encourages its informers to lie and carry out illegal activities with promises of bonuses for "quality" work. It was, in fact, hope for a bigger FBI payoff that lured Redfearn into his July 7 caper.

Will the guidelines put an end to the O'Neals and Rowes and Godfreys and Redfearns? No.

Levi only suggests that the FBI take "special care" to "ensure that individual rights are not infringed."



'How many times do I have to explain, Henderson? There are good guys and there are bad guys and no matter how it looks, we're still the good guys!'

How can political spying and disruption be carried out without "infringing" democratic rights? The January 5 memorandum does not answer that question.

According to the guidelines, the FBI's only criteria for whether or not to use informers is the value of the desired information and reliability of the informer.

Levi's memo tells the FBI to instruct its informers not to participate in acts of violence or to use unlawful techniques. That's supposed to put an end to Redfearn-like activities.

But informers like Redfearn, Rowe, and Godfrey were already operating under "guidelines" that supposedly prohibited such wrongdoing. At least, that's what FBI chief Clarence Kelley claimed on nationwide TV.

Last August when Kelley appeared on the national television show "Face the Nation" he was asked about the Denver burglary. He said:

"We had already set out rules, regulations, and admonitions that that which is done by an informant can be construed as that which is done by the agent. And if it's wrong to be done by the agent, it's wrong to be done by the informant. . . . So we had already laid the groundwork to prevent this and did not."

And what if informers are caught breaking the law, like Redfearn was?

After Redfearn's July 7 burglary there was a flurry of teletype messages between the FBI headquarters and its Denver bureau. Between July 8 and July 15 the FBI tried to hide its informer's guilt from the Denver police. Only after Redfearn was arrested on another burglary charge (furniture that time), did the G-men decide to stop shielding him.

The new guidelines change only one

## Grand jury releases evidence on FBI thief

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—A Denver grand jury voted unanimously January 6 to release evidence from its probe into a burglary by FBI informer Timothy Redfearn.

The day before, Redfearn had been sentenced to an indeterminate-to-ten-

*Future issues of the Militant will publish the story of FBI burglar Timothy Redfearn and his bosses, as told to the Denver grand jury.*

year term for stealing files from the Socialist Workers party headquarters last July.

The Denver investigation was the first ever by a state grand jury looking into FBI crimes.

The 700 pages of evidence docu-

ment the FBI's complicity and attempted cover-up of Redfearn's burglary. The record includes sworn statements by Redfearn, his FBI control agents, and Denver bureau chiefs; FBI officials' testimony before the grand jury; Denver police detectives' reports; and reports by the Denver district attorney on the course of the investigation as the FBI's cover-up fell apart.

At a news conference January 11 Ruth Getts, field secretary for the Political Rights Defense Fund, said that the grand jury evidence shows the FBI was guilty of "conspiracy" and of being an "accessory after the fact" to Redfearn's burglaries.

"Redfearn has been indicted and sentenced," Getts said. "But the people who have been putting him

up to these burglaries for years go scot-free. Is the FBI above the law?"

James Joy, director of the Colorado chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, told reporters at the news conference, "One does not have to support the Socialist Workers party to recognize a threat to our freedoms when a police agency is involved in these kinds of illegal behavior."

"Get the FBI entirely out of political investigation," Joy said. "It's time that this be brought to a halt and the persons involved be held accountable."

The news conference was well attended by the Denver news media. All major TV stations, both daily newspapers, and several radio stations were present.

## Nat'l Security Agency refuses to testify

By May Cramer

NEW YORK—Government lawyers told U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa January 4 that the National Security Agency would not produce any witnesses for the lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance against government disruption and spying.

The NSA, a supersecret, multi-billion-dollar arm of the Department of Defense, is one of twelve federal agencies being sued by the SWP and YSA. Among other things, it apparently intercepts nearly all airborne communications in the world through sophisticated electronic spy equipment, including satellites.

The socialists' attorneys had asked to question an NSA official on January 7. Government lawyers not only refused to produce an NSA witness, they also filed legal papers claiming the agency should not answer any questions or provide any evidence whatsoever.

Government lawyer Thomas Moseley claimed that "further inquiry into the activities of the National Security Agency in this case would pose very serious and very real harm to the foreign intelligence operations of the United States."

The socialists wanted to ask what activities the NSA had conducted against the SWP and YSA members. A first question would have been whether the socialists had been targeted by any of the NSA programs described in the report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The Senate committee reported that the supersecret agency had monitored communications of American citizens.

Other political police agencies such as the FBI and CIA had given the NSA "watch lists" of names and organizations. Any telegrams or phone calls to foreign countries that mentioned a work or name from the "watch list" were intercepted and monitored.

The project was stepped up in 1967. That year the White House, FBI, attorney general, and Department of the Army set up a "civil disturbance" unit. They asked the NSA to provide information about antiwar and civil rights groups. Their goal was to prove that demonstrations and unrest were caused by "foreign influence."

Between 1967 and 1973 about 1,200 American citizens were named on this watch list. The NSA gave about 2,000 reports to federal police agencies during that period.

The reports failed, of course, to show that antiwar or civil rights protests resulted from foreign "subversion."

Since the SWP and YSA helped organize massive protests against the Vietnam War and actively supported civil rights struggles, the socialists suspect their names were prominent on the watch lists.

Judge Griesa suggested the NSA might at least produce a witness to confirm, deny, or object to these questions. There are some things that NSA agents have not done that could be denied to set the record straight, Griesa suggested. For example, "they have not been tripping the plaintiffs in supermarkets."

But while the government lawyer didn't think the NSA had been doing that ("Certainly not to my knowledge, Your Honor"), he said the NSA would not even answer that question.

Usually when legal papers are filed, both sides get to see the argument so that both can present their side of the dispute.

But attorneys for the socialists are not allowed to see the government's top secret affidavit to the judge. They must simply guess the NSA's reasoning.

Perhaps the NSA arguments are like

those offered by the CIA and FBI in the lawsuit.

The CIA has argued that national security and state secrets are at stake. The spies have claimed the courts do not have enough "expertise" in foreign intelligence to decide whether CIA crimes should be made public.

The FBI has withheld the names and files of its informers, arguing a need to protect its sources.

Despite government protests, however, the socialists' lawsuit has forced the FBI to produce more than 100,000 pages of files. The G-men's records documented disruption programs and burglaries.

"We're going to insist on getting evidence from these other agencies too," said Syd Stapleton of the Socialist Workers party. "We do not agree that government crimes cannot be legally challenged or taken to court. The American people have a right to know how their government disrupted legitimate political activities."

Griesa did not rule on the NSA argument at the January 4 hearing. Instead, he said he will attempt, after receiving further material and hearing legal arguments, to rule on all claims to secrecy made so far by the NSA, CIA, and FBI.

# informers

thing: the Justice Department, not the FBI, will be in charge of staging the cover-up.

"In those exceptional circumstances in which notification to local authorities may be inadvisable, the FBI shall promptly advise the Department of Justice," say the guidelines.

How do the G-men decide whether telling the cops is "inadvisable?"

It depends in part on how valuable the informer is to the FBI. Or as the guidelines put it, on "the significance of the information the informant is providing, or will provide."

Redfearn's case is instructive. He provided financial records and reports about the activity of a legal political organization. For that the FBI rated him "excellent" and considered him useful enough to shield.

The guidelines also say that whether or not to tell the cops about an informer's crime depends on how serious the crime is, whether it is completed, and whether the local authorities already know. In other words, it depends on whether they can get away with it.

## Government doublespeak

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the SWP lawsuit, called the new informer guidelines "five pages of government doublespeak."

Stapleton compared this reform to other government "guidelines" for "intelligence" activities. All these so-called reforms only authorize government dirty tricks. They don't end them.

"What's next," Stapleton asked, "guidelines for assassinations?"

The guidelines obviously were published to hush up the scandal stirred last summer, not to limit informer activity.

"But the guidelines will not accomplish either task," Stapleton said. "We know they won't prevent informer wrongdoing. And we can guarantee the government that the guidelines won't end criticism or satisfy demands for an end to this use of paid provocateurs."

"The socialists are going to insist on getting the full FBI records on all informers used against them. We demand a complete end to the repulsive and dangerous use of government stool pigeons and provocateurs."

## Political Rights Defense Fund



The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance have sued the government for an end to spying and disruption. This lawsuit has exposed FBI and CIA attacks against democratic rights.

More than 400 notable supporters of civil liberties are sponsoring the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the lawsuit.

If you would like to be a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, return this coupon to PRDF, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

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# Milwaukee board maneuvers to block school desegregation

By Norbert Francis

MILWAUKEE—The school board in this city has a long history of opposition to equal education for Black children. The board's latest maneuver—spurred by the U.S. Supreme Court's rejection of an Austin, Texas, busing plan—attempts once more to keep the school system segregated.

Last January Federal District Judge John Reynolds ruled that Milwaukee had to desegregate its schools. His ruling came in response to a ten-and-a-half-year-old suit against the school board.

Judge Reynolds found that the school board had deliberately helped keep Milwaukee's public schools segregated. He ordered the board to desegregate the entire school system within three years, with Black enrollment quotas in each school of between 25 and 45 percent.

One-third of the schools were to be desegregated during each of the three years. And the board was to present a

desegregation plan that includes "mandatory reassignment" of students if "voluntary" measures proved insufficient.

Until last week the board's antibusing majority had been forced to reluctantly comply with the judge's order. While appealing his decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, the board moved to desegregate a third of the public schools last fall. But in open defiance of the court order, the board refused to approve and submit a plan for phase two of school desegregation.

The racists were emboldened by the recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling that desegregation of the Austin, Texas, schools should involve only "identifiable violations of constitutional rights." The board decided to shelve the plan designed by school administrators and community planning groups to comply with the court order.

Instead, by an 8-to-4 vote the board approved a plan that would make minor changes in enrollment in a few

of Milwaukee's segregated inner-city schools. The new plan makes no provisions for maintaining desegregation in the future.

The racist school board majority appropriately dubbed their plan the Milwaukee-Austin plan. According to its author, Anthony Busalacchi, "When the Austin decision came down, we had a whole new ballgame. . . . The plan would allow schools that want to remain all-Black because of housing patterns to remain all-Black, and the same for all-white schools."

But in reality the Milwaukee-Austin plan would force all-Black schools to remain all-Black and protect the privileged position of the schools that are now all-white. According to school board attorney Laurence Hammond, the plan will involve minor adjustments in only nine schools.

Attorney for the plaintiffs in the desegregation suit have until January 12 to file their response to the board's proposal.

## ...Boston busing decision upheld

Continued from back page

Black parents and students asked Garrity to close South Boston High. Instead, Garrity took control of the school to ensure compliance with his initial desegregation order.

Garrity ruled that Black students at the school "continue to be subject to physical attacks by groups of white students" and "more often than not, school and police authorities detain

and suspend all the Black students involved in the incident, but only one or two of the whites."

He found that school administrators and Boston police had "failed to take any corrective or disciplinary action" against racist slurs by white students at the school.

Garrity said that this constituted "a pattern of racially discriminatory and hostile conduct" that is "to a signifi-

cant degree the result of intentional conduct by organizations and individuals in South Boston."

Applauding the January 10 Supreme Court ruling, Eric Van Loon, attorney for the Black parents, said that Garrity's "action of singling out a particular school for receivership was unique in school desegregation law, but the amount of resistance to—and defiance of—court orders also was unique."

He added, "The conditions at South Boston High were such that Black pupils were being denied the right to peaceful, desegregated education."

However, James Kelly, head of the racist South Boston Information Center, warned that the decision will "resurrect" the antibusing movement.

"Our legal resources have been taken away," he said. "The only alternative is active protest—and I'm talking about marches, demonstrations, protests."

Kelly's reaction to the Supreme Court ruling shows that organized, violent opposition to school desegregation here remains a threat to the safety and equal rights of the Black community.

The Boston School Committee responded to the ruling by asking Garrity to outline what it must do to regain control of South Boston High. "We have a more moderate body in power now," said school committee member Kathleen Sullivan, a vocal opponent of the busing order. "And I think conditions have changed enough for receivership to be removed."

Paul Tierney, another school committee member, said that "receivership is one of the obstacles to progress at South Boston High."

Vince Eagan, a spokesperson for the National Student Coalition Against Racism, backed the decision in a statement released here.

NSCAR "applauds the January 10 Supreme Court ruling," Eagan said. "The appeal to the Supreme Court is the most recent attempt by Boston racists to thwart justice in this city. There is no question in the minds of the prodesegregation movement as to the constitutionality of the receivership order. The blatant racist practices of the school committee, city council, and the former head master necessitated such an action."

Eagan pointed out that Black students at the school have continued to face substantial harassment even after Garrity's take-over. But turning the school back over to the racist school committee, he said, would have set the clock back to where it was a year ago.

## NSCAR hits housing ruling

By John Hawkins

NEW YORK, Jan. 12—"The Supreme Court's decision yesterday upholding racist zoning laws in Arlington Heights, Illinois, is a slap in the face to Blacks," said Tony Austin, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, in a telephone interview with the *Militant*.

"Coupled with the court's recent decision to strike down a school desegregation plan in Austin, Texas," the NSCAR leader said, "the Arlington Heights ruling moves in

the direction of once again legalizing racist discrimination."

In the Arlington Heights decision the Supreme Court repeated the argument used to overturn the Austin busing plan. Government policies, the justices ruled, can't be declared unconstitutional simply because they have a "racially disproportionate impact," in other words, simply because they discriminate against Blacks.

The court repeated its contention from the Austin case that "intent" to discriminate must be proved in order to rule a government act—in this case, refusal to rewrite racist zoning laws—unconstitutional.

"But the court went even further this time in giving aid and comfort to the racists," Austin stated. "In a footnote they said that even if Arlington Heights was 'motivated in part by a racially discriminatory purpose,' its action isn't automatically unconstitutional."

"Racist outfits across the country will be emboldened by those two court rulings," Austin said.

He pointed to the recent decision by the Milwaukee school board to defy a desegregation plan ordered by a lower court. (See article above.) Board members in that city said they were inspired to make their decision by the Supreme Court's Austin ruling.

"Now other school boards may be encouraged to follow Milwaukee's lead," Austin said.

"These setbacks point up the need for supporters of desegregation—groups like the NAACP, Urban League, and others—to organize a movement to defend Black equal rights in schools, housing, and employment."



TONY AUSTIN

Militant/Lou Howort

# In Our Opinion

## Carter's 'package'

President-elect Jimmy Carter disclosed his long-awaited "economic stimulus package" January 7.

Business representatives complained the proposal leans too heavily toward public spending rather than "incentives" for them.

The AFL-CIO criticized it as a "retreat from the goals" Carter set during his campaign.

Democratic members of Congress announced they were "tremendously pleased."

Judge for yourself. Carter proposes:

- a tax cut for employers, probably through a 5 percent credit in the Social Security taxes they pay on employees;
- a tax cut for some individuals and couples by raising the standard deduction a few hundred dollars;
- a tax rebate, which may range from \$50 to \$200;
- a public jobs program to put 800,000 back to work by September 1978.

Carter's "package" must have seemed more like a letter bomb to the working people who elected him to office and expected him to come through with his promises of jobs and social programs.

For those who don't earn enough to pay taxes—or for the unemployed—Carter's rebate scheme doesn't provide a cent. Despite his generosity in reducing the bosses' taxes, Carter rejected a plan to cut Social Security taxes for those workers who wouldn't get a rebate otherwise.

And what about the 800,000 jobs with a deadline nearly two years away? The official unemployment figure is up to nearly 8 million. The AFL-CIO estimates the real number of jobless closer to 10.5 million.

Carter says he hopes for a decrease in the unemployment rate this year from 8 percent to 6.5 percent. One of his top advisers recently judged even that figure "very difficult" to achieve.

A far cry from Carter's stated commitment last spring to "a dramatic reduction in unemployment" and the achievement of full employment "as rapidly as possible."

Carter's pledges for welfare reform, national health insurance, and other social plans have reportedly been shelved until the economy can "afford" them. Carter even instructed his budget director Bert Lance to find an additional \$2 billion to cut from government programs.

You can be sure Lance isn't going to look for those cuts in the war budget. That promises to remain the same \$123 billion the Ford administration requested. Carter has already backed off his campaign promise to cut arms spending by \$5 billion to \$7 billion.

A little late in coming is the AFL-CIO officialdom's peep about a retreat from the campaign promises it urged its members to put so much stock in last fall.

The time is long overdue for the entire labor movement to break with the two-faced Carters and demand that the billions spent for war be used instead to put more than 8 million Americans back to work.

## Right to choose

They shouted it in the streets. They debated it on TV and discussed it at conferences. "Abortion is a woman's right to choose," women told the government, Catholic bishops, and the world.

On January 22, 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court gave in to the majority sentiment these protests represented.

But reactionary groups and the government did not accept defeat. They teamed up to dismantle abortion rights bit by bit. This fall Congress voted to stop Medicaid funds for elective abortions. Its intended victims: Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other working-class women. Its purpose: to deal a staggering blow to abortion rights, while avoiding an all-out confrontation with a united women's movement.

On January 22 rallies, marches, and speak-outs will say no to this sexist and racist anti-abortion drive. These activities are particularly urgent since this month the Supreme Court will begin considering the constitutionality of denying Medicaid abortions.

We urge the widest possible participation in these actions as a first step in rekindling a national movement to defend every woman's right to choose.

# Letters

### Doubts about Sadlowski

The Socialist Workers party is quite correct in supporting the Sadlowski campaign as the best way to build a militant rank-and-file movement in the steelworkers union.

At the same time, is it not very important to raise doubts about any reform leader, no matter how left-talking, who supports Carter and the system?

Are there not very strong parallels between Arnold Miller in the United Mine Workers and Sadlowski? Both began with militant talk, seemed quite honest, and were based on an angry rank-and-file movement. But caught within the limits of his outlook, Miller, like the great John L. Lewis before him, has retreated before a real confrontation with the system.

Didn't the *Militant* support Miller just as it now supports Sadlowski? Why won't Sadlowski do the same?

Isn't it pressing upon revolutionaries to raise the consciousness of workers by always pointing out the dangers and limits of their reform-minded leaders—no matter how militant they talk?

J.B.

Fond du Lac, Wisconsin

### Complete and informative

Without a doubt your *Militant* paper is the most complete and informative of any I have read. Many of my friends and co-workers comment likewise. We've made many new friends in all areas just conversing about this remarkable paper. That is the reason I will take advantage of the holiday gift subscription offer.

H.L.

Detroit, Michigan

### Support for Black marines

I am one of your many new readers. I find your paper very interesting and informative. I am writing with regard to the Black marines being victimized at Camp Pendleton in California.

Only by hearing both sides of the story can the whole truth come out. If one man is denied his rights, as the Black marines are in this case, then we all suffer.

I never heard or read about the incident until I saw it in the *Militant*. The fascists and racists, such as the Klan, must be defeated wherever they are found.

I would like to say to all my Black brothers and sisters: don't judge all white people by the action of these hooded racists. Only by standing together can we free these Black marines.

Also enclosed is a cartoon I found in a local newspaper [printed on this page]. Since the story wasn't reported, I didn't realize what the cartoon really meant, but now I realize it says it all.

Franklyn Smith

Jeannette, Pennsylvania

### Par for 'la migra'

I sold the December 31 *Militant* with the back-page story on the four-year-old boy who had been kidnapped by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (*la migra*). It was very interesting to see the response of people when I said, "Extra, extra, read about *la migra* kidnapping a four-year-old."

There was only one confused Mexican-American who said, "Well, it's the law, right?"

I sold fifteen papers in forty minutes. One woman, after hearing my sales pitch, retorted something in Spanish that translated into English would be, "Well those %!\$#\* (referring to *la migra*)—give me one of those papers!"

And so the forty minutes went by. Some could not believe their eyes and other commented, "Yeah, that's par for *la migra*."

Many *Militant* readers in Houston are very excited when told that *Perspectiva Mundial*, the new Trotskyist Spanish-language biweekly, will be out in January. We already have two orders for subscriptions.

Arturo Ramirez

Houston, Texas

### Arizona steelworkers

United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel was vacationing in Arizona at the end of December when he delivered a slanderous speech, already mentioned in the *Militant*, attacking



Cross raising at Camp Pendleton

Conrad



## The profitable deathtraps

insurgent union candidate Ed Sadlowski.

Among other things, Abel charged that Sadlowski and his supporters "want to turn the labor movement into a political movement. If that happens," he said, "union members would lose their militancy at the bargaining table."

Abel's own brand of "militancy" was shown in his brief remarks on the upcoming copper industry negotiations. "The copper industry is in the worst condition it has been in in a long time," he said, signaling that the USWA won't ask much from the corporations.

There are about 14,000 USWA members in Arizona, most of them in copper or in small, scattered fabricating shops. The major shop here in Phoenix is Marathon Steel, which employs 300-400 men—and no women.

Socialists have begun selling the *Militant* there regularly, three or four copies each time. On our first trip, we also sold four copies of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*.

Incidentally, Abel plans to retire in Sun City, a retirement complex near Phoenix. The entire community is owned by the Del Webb corporation, which is being struck by the construction trades. There was an article on this in the December 24 *Militant*.

The unions have called for a boycott on buying homes in Sun City! Abel's action exposes his lack of trade-union solidarity.

C.F.  
Phoenix, Arizona

### Not liked by parole board

I am a prisoner in New York State. Please stop sending me the *Militant*—not because I don't want it, but because I'm facing problems with my parole board because of it.

The central prison administrative office sent down a directive stating that prisoners can subscribe to any newspaper or magazine they want, but prison officials can withhold a particular edition that they feel is a "security risk."

This has happened. Most recently they held back the December 3 *Militant*, which featured a front-page story on the National Student Conference Against Racism.

Also, I'm being victimized for my choice of newspapers. When I went before my third parole board, they denied parole on the grounds that my institutional activities show that I have not been "rehabilitated" and that I "have not stayed out of trouble." There's no basis for this.

For now, then, I've decided to cancel my subscription. Hopefully, this will help my chances of getting released when I go before the next parole board.

In the future, when I am eventually paroled, I shall continue my study of your paper and maybe become a member of the Socialist Workers party. A prisoner  
New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

LOS ANGELES—The third tragic fire since 1970 in the same neighborhood here involving old buildings with open stairwells has taken the lives of ten people, including a one-year-old girl. Still others of the 30 injured in the December 20 fire are not expected to live.

Yet fire officials say that the apartment house in the downtown area, mostly filled with Latino families, "was not in violation of safety codes because it was only two stories high."

The fire, which exploded through the fifty-year-old Witmer Street building, was within blocks of the Stratford Courts fire which took twenty-four lives November 15, 1973, in the worst fire in the city's history. The three-story Stratford apartment house also had an open stairwell, which had been ordered enclosed two years before. No work had been done on it.

"A building like this is nothing more than a furnace with a chimney," the battalion fire chief said at the time.

Fire at the Ponet Hotel, a similar building in the same area, took nineteen lives in September 1970. A city ordinance passed at that time required that open stairwells be enclosed but exempted those under three stories high. By late 1973, there were still about 1,400 buildings in the city with open stairwells, which suck up the heat and smoke. These firetraps were waiting to explode and kill again—while their owners took in rent profits.

Fire Capt. Ray Carpenter told the *Militant* that these buildings are no longer fire hazards or were torn down since 1973. A visual survey indicates otherwise.

The owner of a building similar to the one where the December 20 tragedy took place and located across the street, looked over the gutted-out building with a *Militant* reporter.

"So I have an open stairwell," he said, "but it's only two stories high. What do you want me to do, tear it down?"

"I can't tear it down," he said defensively, "the banks owns it with me."

Then he expressed his callous prejudices: "There's overcrowding in these buildings," he said. "You rent a unit and they sneak others in."

"They're mostly a bunch of wetbacks," he muttered. "There's just a lot of dope fiends on this block, bums."

Echoing press reports he said, "This wouldn't have happened if there wasn't a gang fight going on. The investigators called it arson. Only gasoline could have caused this to flare up like it did."

Arson investigators say the fire started from a flammable material directly under the stairs, blocking the exit. However the fire started, it could not have spread as it did except for a combination of an open stairwell, thin walls, and a lack of fire doors.

Two days after the deadly fire, the building was boarded up and a big pile of burned clothing, furniture and toys was stacked in front. The street looked serene in the bright sunlight.

But Adolpho Fuentes, a busboy from Mexico, spoke in Spanish of the horror he witnessed two nights before from his home across the street.

"People were screaming as the flames and smoke shot way up," he said. "Many were jumping out of the upper windows. I saw one man with a child under each arm—blood all over them—jump from the second floor."

Two women in late pregnancies lost their expected babies. One of the women died a few days later.

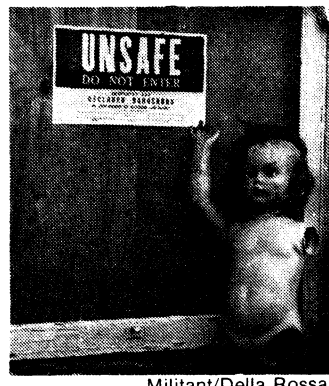
"XVIII", a symbol of the Eighteenth Street barrio, seen all over the city, was painted on the front of the death building. Nearby was a Spanish-English dictionary and a child's paper headband with "Alberto" printed inside in a childish scrawl.

One wonders, where is little Alberto now? If he lives,

what burn scars and nightmares will he carry with him for the rest of his life?

While the news media play up arson and the possibility of street gang activity in the Witmer Street fire, the real criminals are the profiteering building owners and city officials who permit open stairwell death traps.

—Della Rossa



Militant/Della Rossa

## iLa Raza en Acción!

### 'Alien' rip-offs?

Leonard Chapman, director of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, issued his latest racist diatribe against "illegal aliens" in an article in the October issue of *Reader's Digest*.

His venom has become familiar by now:

"They are milking the U.S. taxpayer of \$13 billion annually by taking away jobs from legal residents and forcing them into unemployment; by illegally acquiring welfare benefits and public services; by avoiding taxes.

"Illegal aliens and their offspring also benefit from public services such as . . . medical care, and free education. Few, if any, pay their share of the cost."

Chapman cites some "examples:" "During the first week of February," he says, "130 illegal aliens were arrested in Yakima, Wash. Of these, 33 held food stamps to which they were not entitled, 17 more occupied low-cost government housing, 16 were illegally on welfare."

He also cites the case of a person caught working "illegally" as a metallurgical engineer for \$12,000 a year, and that of an "illegal" working on the Alaska pipeline for \$11 an hour. "We located two aliens," he claims, "who had run up medical bills of \$33,000 and \$70,000."

"Though these . . . examples may seem shocking," Chapman contends, "I can assure you they are routine."

Assurances are all we get, however. Proof is impossible because Chapman's arguments are as dishonest as they are racist.

A year ago, the Labor Department studied a representative sampling of hundreds of immigrants who were about to be deported. The study shows that undocumented workers are mercilessly exploited in the

### Miguel Pendás



hardest jobs and earn the lowest wages. They *do* pay taxes but they *don't* use social services, because they are afraid of getting caught by *la migra*.

Despite their impoverished circumstances, only 0.5 percent of those interviewed had ever received welfare. Only 1.3 percent had ever received food stamps, and only 4.0 percent had ever collected unemployment benefits.

Only 27 percent of the undocumented workers had used hospitals or clinics, and only 8 percent had children in school (either here or in Mexico).

The average wage for Mexicans interviewed was \$2.33. The average U.S. wage is \$4.47.

This study shows that Chapman's "examples" of how we are supposedly getting ripped off by undocumented workers are totally isolated and misleading—if in fact he didn't just make them up entirely.

Even if it were true that undocumented workers were receiving the meager social benefits that Chapman falsely accuses them of, where is the crime in that? Undocumented workers are human beings too!

They contribute to the wealth of this society much more than they get from it. They perform useful and necessary labor for much lower wages than the average person. They should be entitled to full legal rights and social benefits.

*La migra* can only hope to prejudice workers who are citizens against the undocumented by using half-truths, misleading examples and "statistics," racist stereotypes, and outright lies. The truth is on our side. Their shameless lies must be exposed.

In my next column, I will take up Chapman's threat to launch a terror campaign against *mexicanos* under the pretense of creating jobs for citizens.

# YOUNG SOCIALISTS

## Convention sets Africa, women's rights campaigns



Delegates at YSA national convention

Militant/Bruce Marcus

By Nancy Cole

CHICAGO—At its national convention here New Year's weekend, the Young Socialist Alliance took stock of its 1976 accomplishments and its goals for 1977.

After three days of reports, discussions, workshops, classes, and a rally, it was clear that the socialist youth

**IF YOU WANT TO BE PART OF THIS MOVEMENT . . . contact the YSA chapter nearest you. See Socialist Directory, page 31. Or write YSA, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.**

group came through the bicentennial year as an effective force in the nation's student movement.

More than ever before in its sixteen-year history, the YSA is a student group and a part of the life of some seventy campuses and high schools where it has chapters.

Seven hundred registered for the

annual convention. It was held December 31-January 2 in downtown Chicago during some of the coldest weather the Windy City has seen this century.

In addition to participants from twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia, observers from socialist groups in Canada, Japan, and Puerto Rico attended the convention.

"In 1976 the YSA was part of significant campus struggles in many parts of the country," reported Rick Berman. The convention elected Berman YSA national chairperson. These struggles ranged from "defending preferential admissions in the University of California schools, to the fight against the death penalty in Georgia, to defending Gary Tyler in New Orleans, to fighting the cutbacks in the City University of New York."

Just as impressive as the YSA's 1976 accomplishments are its 1977 plans. The delegates, elected as representatives to the convention by their chapters, approved two central campaigns

for the YSA this spring. First is helping to build a massive movement in this country to defend the South African struggle against U.S.-backed apartheid.

The second is to bring to the campuses and high schools the perspective of a fighting feminist movement that can turn back the growing attacks on women's rights.

### 'Important role'

"As students living in a country which is one of the major props of the white-minority regime, we have an important role to play in the African freedom struggle," said Cathy Sedwick in her report on "The Fight Against Racism in Southern Africa and the United States."

Sedwick pointed to the call by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) for coordinated actions across the country March 25-26 to protest U.S. aid to South African apartheid.

This is "an important first step toward building the nationwide movement needed to get the U.S. out of southern Africa," she said.

A number of American campuses have ties to the racist regimes in southern Africa. Exposing this complicity could be an important part of campus activities March 25-26, Sedwick suggested.

Discussion of her report showed that the kind of movement needed to aid the South African freedom fighters is off to a good start.

Delegate Melvin Chappell from the YSA in East Side New York described the opportunities for the upcoming NSCAR-sponsored tours of two South African student leaders. When one of them, Tsietshi Mashinini, toured New York City recently, a meeting in Harlem drew 300 people.

"It was the first time SCAR was able to organize a meeting in Harlem and attract people from the community," Chappell said.

He also reported that at a meeting at Baruch College, sixty people signed up to join SCAR after hearing Mashinini.

### 'Completely aggressive'

"We plan to be completely aggressive in our efforts to build a movement against U.S. involvement in South Africa," Houston delegate Veronica

Fontenot told the convention.

"Most students that we know are already willing to join the Student Coalition Against Racism. I go to a high school where *everyone* is opposed to racism, except maybe some of the teachers."

One activity her YSA chapter—all Black high school students—has under way is a short play about South Africa and the March 25-26 actions. It was written and directed by a YSA member who is the drama club president at his high school. They hope to tour it and possibly get a couple of television appearances.

Exiled South African poet Dennis Brutus spoke at the convention rally Saturday night. One of the many banners in the convention hall read, "No U.S. support to So. African racism! All out March 25-26!" Pointing to the banner, Brutus said:

"I hope you will commit yourselves, wherever you are, to so massive and so impressive a demonstration of solidarity that this too—like your legal battle [against government spying]—will be a turning point in the struggle against racism, exploitation, and imperialism everywhere."

### Women's rights

YSA women's liberation director Nancy Brown reported to the convention on "Women's Rights Under Attack—How to Fight Back." After describing the setbacks suffered by women during 1976, Brown said:

"For women, it's Catch-22. It's almost impossible to get a good job because affirmative-action programs are being axed. If we have an unwanted pregnancy, it's harder and harder for us to get abortions."

"Then after we're literally forced into motherhood, we can't get maternity benefits. And then we can't get child care because all the funds have been slashed."

"Women on the high school and college campuses can set an example of how to organize a response to the attacks on women's rights and show



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

South African Dennis Brutus. 'Commit yourselves to demonstration of solidarity that can be turning point in struggle.'

the way forward for the women's liberation movement," Brown said.

She urged support for the meetings and speak-outs planned around January 22, the anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling that legalized abortion. March 8, International Women's Day, can be another focus for such activities.

Caryl Sholin, from the Seattle Central Community College chapter, talked about the YSA's strategy for the women's movement:

"The ruling class is testing women," she said. "They're trying to see exactly how much we'll take. If we accept attacks on the right to abortion without an effective response, it will make it that much easier to attack day care, affirmative action, and the Equal Rights Amendment."

Delegate Joy Becker described the Women's Action Coalition the YSA helped initiate on the San Francisco State University campus.

"Within the first week we had eighty women signed up to work on women's

## South African student sends message to YSA

Tape-recorded greetings from South African student leader Tsietshi Mashinini were played to the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mashinini is the former president of the Soweto Students Representative Council and was a central leader of the June 16, 1976, student revolt in Soweto. Mashinini, who now lives in exile in London, visited the United States this fall.

He will return to this country in the spring for a tour sponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

The text of his greetings follows.

I would like to take this time to send greetings to the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Your convention is an important

gathering of students, because just as students in Soweto played a role in sparking mass struggles this summer in South Africa, militant students in the United States have played and can play such a role in America.

South Africa is key to the international situation and to the freedom of Black people the world over. It is your responsibility as revolutionary students in America to build a movement in solidarity with the struggle of South African Blacks and against U.S. complicity with the bloodthirsty, barbaric South African regime.

When I return to America this spring to tour the country, I hope to find you all supporting the national demonstrations called by NSCAR for March 25-26.

Long live the South African revolution! Long live the Young Socialist Alliance! A luta continua! [The struggle continues!]



right to choose an abortion," she said. "When we sifted through that, we had at least fourteen very active women who would speak in classes, who would be at the [literature] table every day.

"I don't think this is any kind of exception," she said.

### Michigan defense case

The convention set another national focus for YSA activity this spring. Unlike the campaigns around South Africa and women's rights, this one was *chosen* for the YSA by the administration at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant.

Three YSA members—Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith—were arrested at CMU October 20 and charged with trespassing and occupying a university building. In reality, the three were distributing literature for the Socialist Workers party's election campaign outside a public meeting.

They each face \$1,650 in fines and six months in jail.

Douglas told the convention rally that school officials had them arrested "because they are afraid our ideas will get students 'all stirred up,' as one administration bureaucrat put it. Well, they're right. Our ideas will get students stirred up.

"And when the administration tries to stop students from hearing those ideas by arresting socialist activists,

that's also going to get students stirred up."

In convention discussion and a workshop devoted to the defense effort, YSA activists reaffirmed the national importance of defeating this frame-up. Everyone agreed that with similar harassment of student activists occurring all over the country, a victory in Michigan will teach campus bureaucrats everywhere a sorely needed lesson.



Militant/Bruce Marcus  
Brigid Douglas, one of three Michigan YSA members arrested for leafleting a campus meeting.

"All the trends that we've seen in society as a whole are also present in the high schools and college campuses," Berman said in his report on "Socialist Strategy for 1977."

He described the cutbacks faced by students, the attacks on preferential admissions, and the soaring rate of unemployment for young people, especially Black youth.

The convention discussed the YSA's continuing participation in struggles against educational cutbacks and in defense of school desegregation.

The YSA also pledged to step up its efforts against the death penalty and in support of frame-up victims, such as Gary Tyler and the Wilmington Ten.

In a presentation on the Chicano student movement, Mike Zárate explained the threat posed by the California Supreme Court's "Bakke decision." White student Allan Bakke claimed, and the court agreed, that he was "discriminated" against when he was rejected by the University of California Davis Medical School. The school policy sets aside 16 out of 100 admissions for Blacks, Chicanos, and other minorities.

Convention delegates from California led the discussion on the need to fight this ruling, now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

"If Bakke succeeds and the ruling class overturns affirmative action for minorities in California's university



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
'Who will be next?' asked California delegate Reiko Obata in discussion on racist affirmative-action court ruling.

system, who will be next?" asked Reiko Obata, a delegate from Berkeley.

Two Chicago representatives of FUSP (Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña—Federation of Puerto Rican Socialist University Students) participated in a panel at the Puerto Rican student movement workshop.

They urged joint activity between  
*Continued on next page*

# 'Our struggle is the same as yours'

The following are excerpts from greetings to the Young Socialist Alliance national convention. Those from U.S. groups and individuals were read to the convention rally, January 1.

The three international guests at the convention delivered their remarks with translation during the proceedings.

Greetings were received from other Trotskyist groups in Australia, Canada, France, Iceland, and New Zealand.

**Natascha López, Internationalist Workers League, Puerto Rico.**

We would like to share with you the celebration of the first year of publication of our newspaper, *La Verdad*. The largest number of foreign subscriptions that were obtained for that paper were here in the United States.

One of our goals is to increase our circulation, especially in the Puerto Rican communities of the United States.

For us, *la verdad* [the truth] is the only force capable of mobilizing millions of the oppressed in the struggle against injustice, exploitation, and for the total liberation of all humanity. For as Leon Trotsky once said, truth is the motor force of history.

**Anne Braden, longtime civil rights leader.**

For us who live and work in the South, the new year will bring many new challenges and many urgent battles. We must beat back the resurgence of racism, defend the right of unions to organize, win freedom for all those jailed because they fought for human rights and because of racism, guarantee that no executions take place under the revived death penalty laws.

All these battles need the energy and commitment of more young people than have yet joined the struggle. I hope that all of us—young and not-so-young, and of varying political persuasions—can find ways of working together to win victories for the people's movement this year.

**Motoko Kurokawa, Japanese Communist Youth.**

The Japanese Communist Youth is an organization of young Trotskyists that was formed in February 1975 under the banner of the Asian revolution and socialism.

We Trotskyist militants are striving to advance to the fore of this new revolutionary wave in Asia. We will grow to become the future majority of the Japanese youth movement.

The future belongs to youth.

**Robert Meeropol, Michael Meeropol, National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.**

We'd like to take this opportunity to extend our feelings of solidarity to you, and to express our continued support for the Political Rights Defense Fund suit.

We have our own massive Freedom of Information Act suit in which we are attempting to force the release of over five million FBI files relating to the frame-up of our parents, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Our suit seeks to expose the truth surrounding the vicious political murder of our parents in order to expose the myth that government secrecy is necessary in order to protect our national security.

We are also seeking to demonstrate that domestic radicalism is not a foreign-run conspiracy. We are showing the American people that it

is the secret police agencies themselves that represent the greatest danger to the liberty of all Americans.

Our struggle is the same as yours. The coverage you have given our effort demonstrates that you agree. We know we can count on your wholehearted support as we battle to save the Freedom of Information Act and bring the principle of accountability to the judiciary.

We will continue to support your efforts. We look forward to continued close contact between the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers party, the Political Rights Defense Fund, and our struggle to reopen our parents' case.

**Serge Morin, Young Socialists /Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, Canada.**

Several important developments have taken place in the Canadian student movement in the last year. In Québec since the foundation of the Association Nationale des Etudiants du Québec [National Association of Québec Students] several student struggles have taken place.

Last spring sixteen junior colleges and universities walked out to support the struggles of the common front of the public and parapublic sector. This consists of teachers, support staff in schools, hospital workers, etc.

In English Canada, the YS consolidated its base on campus through struggles against budget cuts, against Canadian complicity in apartheid, and for actions around [the] October 14 [general strike].

In the last year we have tripled our student forces in Québec, especially through our work in the major struggles of the Québec student movement.

**Juanita Tyler, mother of Gary Tyler, a Black frame-up victim from Destrehan, Louisiana.**

Thank you for your efforts on behalf of my son, Gary Tyler, who as you know is innocent of the murder charge against him. I am counting on your continued support to free him. As you know, fighting for his freedom and winning will mean another blow against racism.

I hope the new year will bring this victory.

**Cheung Kweng, Revolutionary Communist Youth, China.**

The success of the Socialist Workers party's election campaign which you supported, the extensive press coverage received by your lawsuit against government political harassment, the important role the YSA has played in the fight against racism, and your increasing influence on campus inspire Trotskyist youth here.

They are a promising sign of the growth of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S.

We wish you success in your discussion and preparing yourselves to meet the new challenges in the new year.

**Leonard Boudin, prominent constitutional attorney representing the YSA and Socialist Workers party in their lawsuit against government spying.**

I want to congratulate the YSA, as I have the SWP, on the magnificent contribution that its litigation against the federal government is making for the preservation of civil liberties and democracy in this country.

It is not often that litigation can have an important effect on political life. This case appears to be the exception.



Militant/Bruce Marcus  
Convention delegates and guests heard greetings from Canadian, Japanese, and Puerto Rican socialists.



Continued from preceding page

FUSP and the YSA on such issues as defense of the five Puerto Rican nationalist prisoners and of the victims of a Chicago grand jury currently on a fishing expedition against Puerto Rican "terrorists."

Other workshops covered the YSA's activities in high schools, support to labor struggles, defense of international political prisoners, and the YSA and SWP's lawsuit against the FBI and CIA.

### Student movement

"It's important here to understand that the aim of the capitalist class is not to substantially reduce the relative size of the college student population, but rather to rechannel it to fit their needs," Berman told the convention.

"So there's no need to worry that the student population will disappear, or play a reduced role in American politics."

At last year's national convention, the YSA decided to reorganize. Up until then the YSA was organized into city-wide locals. Over the past year these locals divided into separate campus and high school chapters.

This change has made it easier for the YSA to expand to new schools, win new members, and become more a part of campus life.

Despite some inevitable problems and confusion, "it worked," reported Chuck Petrin in a "Building the YSA" report.

Petrin reported that the YSA now has some 800 members. This drop in membership from the last convention, he explained, is linked to the YSA's decision at that time to concentrate all of its forces on the campuses and high schools.

After the 1975 convention, Petrin said, many YSA members who were also members of the Socialist Workers party—and who were not in school—left the YSA to devote their energies to building the SWP.

At the same time, Petrin said, "the YSA has more student members than ever in its history." More than 500 members are students, compared with 300 at the last convention.

To help win new members to the YSA, the convention voted to launch several outreach campaigns. First is a drive to sell 7,000 copies each month of the *Young Socialist* newspaper. The YSA also plans to join in a spring *Militant* sales effort.

Fifteen Young Socialist teams will be on the road this spring. These trail-blazing teams will introduce socialism to campuses by setting up literature tables, selling the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*, talking to students about the YSA's Africa and women's rights campaigns, and campaigning for Socialist Workers party candidates.

During the past two years, Petrin reported, the YSA teams sold 24,000 copies of the *YS* and 30,000 *Militants*, and they recruited 400 people to the socialist movement.

The convention also approved a national fund drive for \$21,000-23,000.

### Important trend

Aside from the increase in student membership, the convention showed another important trend in the YSA. More women and oppressed national minorities are joining and becoming leaders of the organization.

Forty-five percent, or 315, of the convention participants were women, and 116 were oppressed minorities. Of the latter, 76 were Black.

The delegate representation was even more striking. Of the 187 total, 84 were women and 40 minorities.

And it was evident during the convention proceedings. For example, under the "Socialist Strategy for 1977" report, more than half the speakers were women.

The YSA's national committee elected by the delegates at the end of the convention is nearly 50 percent women and 45 percent oppressed minorities. Three are high school students.

The fifteen Black high school stu-

dents who came to the convention from the Northeast Houston YSA chapter were a source of inspiration for the entire gathering. Their three women delegates all spoke during the plenary discussions. They brought plenty of ideas and spirit.

And they represent what the YSA is on the way to becoming.

## New YSA officers



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

RICK BERMAN



Militant/Nancy Cole

CATHY SEDWICK



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

CHUCK PETRIN

CHICAGO—The Young Socialist Alliance National Committee met here following its convention to elect the organization's officers for the coming year.

Elected as national chairperson was Rick Berman, twenty-six. Berman was the YSA's national organizational secretary during 1976. He joined the YSA while an activist in the anti-Vietnam War movement in 1970.

Twenty-two-year-old Cathy Sedwick is the YSA's new national secretary. She is a member of the National Alliance of Black Feminists. Last fall Sedwick toured Black campuses in the South to win support for the Socialist Workers party's presidential campaign. She joined the group in spring 1975.

Chuck Petrin, twenty-four, was elected national organizational secretary. He is a former staff member of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. More recently, he edited the monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*. Petrin joined the YSA in 1970.

# Gov't pesticide control program called flop

By Steve Wattenmaker

Government efforts to regulate poisonous pesticides are in "chaos," according to a Senate subcommittee report published January 2.

A ten-month study of the Environmental Protection Agency's pesticide registration program accused the EPA of making a "conscious policy decision" not to review safety test data submitted by pesticide manufacturers.

Under provisions of the 1972 Federal Environmental Pesticide Control Act, the EPA was required to determine the safety of all pesticide products that had entered the market over the past thirty years—some fifty thousand chemical compounds.

The Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, chaired by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), charged the EPA had mismanaged the pesticide review and actually retested only about one-third of the products under study.

EPA administrator Russell Train threw the blame back on Congress, complaining that the environment agency had been given too little time and too little money to do the job adequately.

Stung by the scandal surrounding the pesticide Phosvel (see accompanying story on this page), the subcommittee charged that the "superficiality of the EPA's scientific review" allowed Phosvel to remain on the market.

In fact, both the EPA and Congress share responsibility for allowing the \$100-billion-a-year chemical industry to ride roughshod over health and environmental safety.

The Senate report was little more than a sop to deflect mounting public criticism of the government's cozy relationship with Du Pont, Dow, Monsanto, and other chemical giants.

In the case of Velsicol Chemical Corporation—manufacturers of Phosvel—the record shows that responsibility for the tragedy spreads far

beyond the corridors of the EPA.

As early as 1962 Rachel Carson warned in her book *Silent Spring* that the pesticides chlordane and heptachlor—manufactured exclusively by Velsicol—could cause irreversible destruction to the environment.

The government did nothing. But Velsicol tried to stop publication of *Silent Spring* by warning publisher Houghton-Mifflin that "sinister influences" seeking to undermine Western agriculture were behind Carson's book.

Two years later the Public Health Service blamed Velsicol for dumping the pesticide endrin into the Mississippi River, causing a massive fish kill downstream from its Memphis, Tennessee, plant.

Despite these and other serious question marks over Velsicol and its products, the U.S. Agency for International Development bought \$4 million worth of chlordane, heptachlor, Phosvel, and endrin for shipment overseas in the early 1970s.

*It was not until 1976 that any government body initiated action to halt production of these ecologically deadly poisons.*

A clue to the government's sympathetic treatment of Velsicol was revealed in the December 14, 1976, *Washington Post*. The *Post* reported that Velsicol is owned by Northwest Industries, whose president is Ben Heineman, an industrialist with long-established ties to the White House. Heineman was reportedly one of the finalists under consideration by President-elect Jimmy Carter for secretary of the treasury.

The Velsicol-Washington connection is only one example of government complicity in allowing dangerous chemicals to flood the market.

For the past four years Congress debated the Toxic Substances Control Act, aimed at regulating chemicals not currently licensed by the EPA, the

Continued on page 30

## Nightmare in Bayport

By Marc Shaver

BAYPORT, Tex.—"They never said it was a poison," recalled a former employee of the Velsicol Chemical Corporation in this industrial suburb of Houston. From 1971 until January 1976, Velsicol manufactured leptophos, a highly toxic pesticide, and marketed it abroad under the brand name Phosvel.

Now, at least seven former workers at the nonunion plant are suffering from severe and permanent nerve damage as a result of their exposure to leptophos. Symptoms range from a choking sensation and blurred vision to loss of memory and partial paralysis.

Phosvel worker Esequiel De La Torre was initially sent to a mental institution after finding his ability to walk, speak, and remember impaired. Strapping ex-paratrooper John Wright was reduced to a scrawny 110 pounds—crippled with a deteriorating spine and other symptoms that resemble multiple sclerosis.

Leptophos was never approved for use in the United States. It was sold only to foreign customers or purchased by the federal government for distribution as foreign aid.

In 1971 Egyptian health officials established that Phosvel had killed 1,200 water buffalo. Further investigations revealed that some Egyptian villagers had died after exposure to the pesticide.

Yet with full knowledge of the

deaths attributed to Phosvel, the Environmental Protection Agency granted Velsicol a "tolerance" for leptophos in the spring of 1974.

The tolerance ruling allowed small amounts of leptophos to appear on imported tomatoes and lettuce—an important halfway step to full approval of Phosvel for use in this country.

In fact, Phosvel's dangers have been known since 1969 when tests were conducted by Velsicol before the pesticide went into production. Despite evidence that leptophos was unsafe, the Bayport plant went into full production of the poisonous agent in 1971.

After several Phosvel workers became ill in 1975, a medical consultant called in by Velsicol strongly advised that the manufacture of the pesticide be immediately halted. Company officials ignored this advice.

"It was a nightmare situation," said former Velsicol supervisor Raymond David, who resigned after protesting the lack of safety precautions at the plant. "The company had an opportunity to stop it after the second man got sick, but they didn't take the opportunity," David said.

Although production of leptophos was halted early in 1976, Velsicol continues to ship its inventories of Phosvel overseas, and the Bayport plant remains in full operation manufacturing EPN, an equally dangerous pesticide.

# STEEL UNION ELECTION

## What's at stake for all working people

By Ed Heisler

The February 8 vote in the United Steelworkers of America for a new president and other top officers is of vital importance to steelworkers, to members of other unions, and to all working people in this country.

This is no run-of-the-mill union election. Big issues are at stake.

The slate headed by Lloyd McBride defends the old policies of outgoing President I.W. Abel. Abel signed away steelworkers' right to strike with the Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

He set up joint labor-management "productivity committees" that have wiped out tens of thousands of jobs.

He defends steel industry price hikes and joins the employers' call for import restrictions to protect their monopoly prices and profits.

Abel's policy has permitted the steel corporations to ignore union grievances; speed up production lines; discriminate against Blacks, Chicanos, and women; and throw job safety out the window.

The Steelworkers Fight Back slate, headed by Ed Sadlowski, stands for basic changes in policy and control of the union.

Sadlowski campaigns for membership control of all union affairs.

For the right of the members to vote on their contracts.

For the right to strike.

For worker control of safety conditions on the job.

The Fight Back candidates explain how the organized power of union men and women is paralyzed by the union leadership's collaboration with the bosses.

"The workers and the boss have nothing in common," Sadlowski declares. "It is a class question."

### Why unions were organized

It takes head-on struggle by the workers to defend their interests against the employers, day in and day out, in every way possible. That is why unions were organized in the first place.

But most giant unions like the United Steelworkers have become housebroken and bureaucratized over the years. Abel, McBride, and their fellow bureaucrats seek only to hang onto their high-paid posts and get along with the boss as best they can. And they certainly don't want dues-paying members interfering with their "union business." They are the kind of "leaders" once referred to by John L. Lewis when he likened the workers to "lions led by asses."

The Sadlowski challenge in steel is an opportuni-

ty for steelworkers to get rid of some of these braying misleaders.

But Steelworkers Fight Back is not only an election campaign. Thousands of steelworkers are getting active in union affairs for the first time. They sense the possibility of transforming their union into a powerful, fighting organization where the membership decides union policy and implements those decisions.

Such a movement does not stop in one union. It inspires other workers. It will spread throughout the labor movement because it is a genuine response to the problems that plague all unions today. Steelworkers Fight Back can be the beginning of a huge rank-and-file movement to shake up and democratize the entire American labor movement.

Even beyond the bounds of the organized union movement, workers—especially minority groups and all who are victims of discrimination—have good reason to hail the changes that have begun in steel.

For Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women workers, this is a chance to fight for a basic change that will give them power and equality. Steelworkers Fight Back is their ready-made tool. They have only to make full use of it.

One of the principles repeated over and over by Ed Sadlowski is that racism is incompatible with unionism and that labor must be in the forefront of the struggle against discrimination.

"The American labor movement has got to develop into a cause," Sadlowski says, a cause like the union movement of the 1930s and like the United Farm Workers today. This points toward a labor movement that really puts its muscle behind the fight for desegregation, for affirmative action, for the Equal Rights Amendment, and other social struggles.

These stated positions of Steelworkers Fight Back will be put into action to the extent that minorities and women are active in the leadership of this movement.

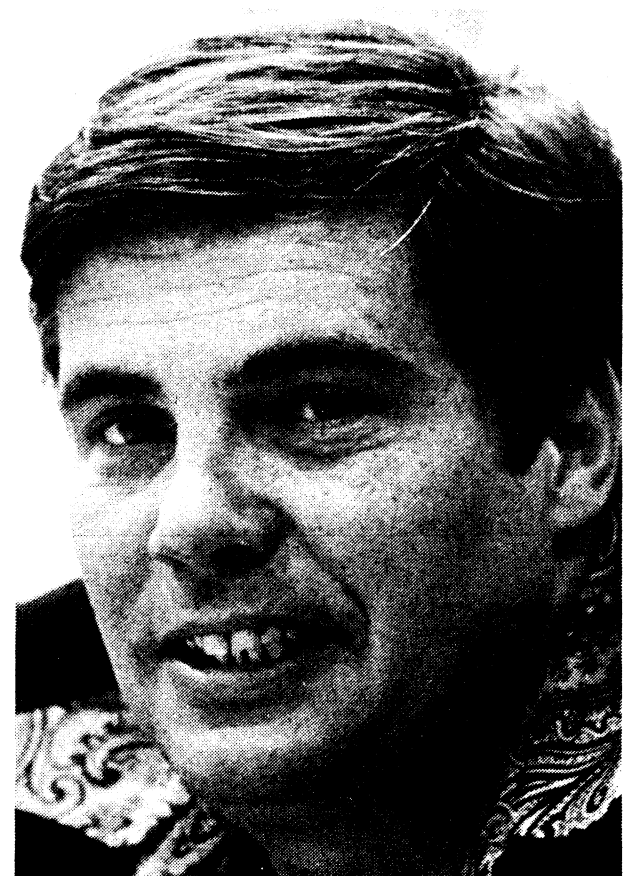
### After the election

Regardless of the outcome of the February 8 vote, the struggle for militant and democratic unionism has only begun. "Just winning the seats we're vying for is not going to do us any damn bit of good after February 8," Sadlowski tells union members, "if we don't have you on our side as a strong, viable force within our union. Organize. Organize around the premise of what you want this union to be."

Even if Sadlowski loses, the gains made during this campaign can be building blocks for the next stage of the movement for union democracy.

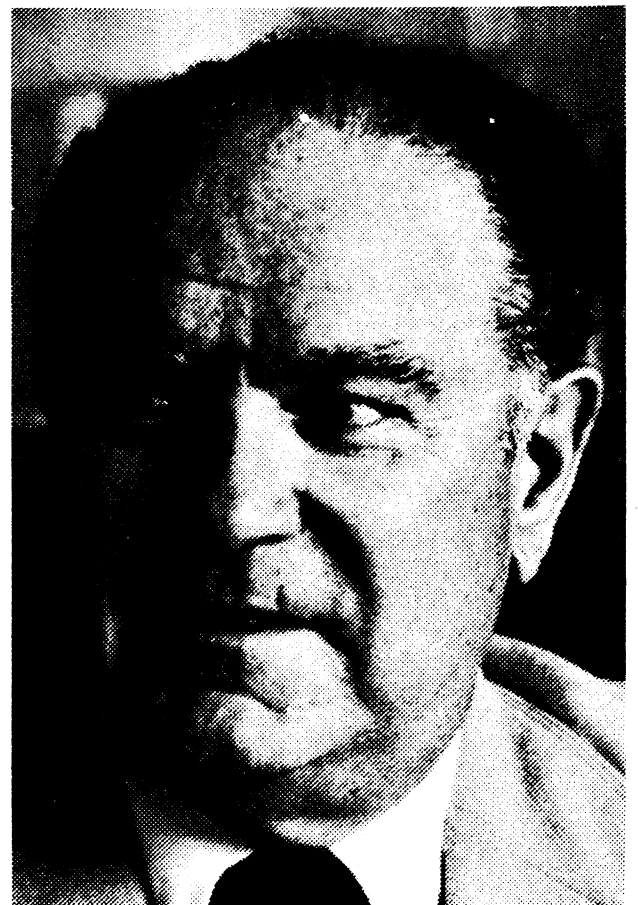
The issues that face the union movement today will not be resolved by a single election, nor by victories in a series of union elections. Many of the issues now debated in the steelworkers union require a political solution.

Abel attacks Fight Back for wanting to "turn the labor movement into a political movement." He claims that "if that happens, union members would



Militant/Harry Ring

ED SADLOWSKI



LLOYD McBRIDE

lose their militancy at the bargaining table." Since when has Abel's policy—political support to the Democratic party—ever advanced union militancy? Never!

The USWA and other unions this fall spent millions of dollars of the members' money to elect Jimmy Carter—and already he's backing down on every campaign promise he made to workers. Why not use those resources to organize a new political party, a labor party?

The truth is that working people do not have any "friends" in government. Just as workers need unions that *they* run, that stand up for *their* interests against the employers, workers also need their own political instrument—a labor party that is run by workers and that fights for the needs of all working people.

A mass labor party based on the unions could run workers for office and challenge the political domination of the two big-business parties. It could organize huge protest campaigns to end unemployment, provide a decent standard of living for all, and eradicate poverty and discrimination. It could replace the political rule of the tiny capitalist minority with the democratic, majority rule of the workers.

The campaign to transform the steelworkers union is the beginning of the fight to build that kind of labor movement.

*Ed Heisler is a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee. A railroad worker for ten years in Chicago, he was the organizer of a struggle in the United Transportation Union from 1969 to 1972 to win the right of the membership to vote on contracts.*



# Sadlowski speaks ou

## UNION BUREAUCRACY

Steelworkers have paid and paid dearly for union executives who think like businessmen, act like businessmen, and feel more at home with big businessmen than with workers. We have had enough of this so-called mature unionism of I.W. Abel and his handpicked successor McBride. And we have paid enough with our dues, our jobs, our health, and our lives.

If we learned nothing else, it is that bureaucratic unionism works well for the companies and the union leaders who have a cozy relationship with them. But it does a poor job for the workers.

Our union's leaders are sitting on productivity committees to help management find more ways to do away with our jobs; and they are sitting with corporate executives in plush clubs, sipping martinis and toasting to the companies' continued prosperity.

If the companies protected their profits as poorly as our union has protected its members' jobs, they'd be out of business. And that's what must happen to the Abel-McBride leadership. We must retire them from *business* unionism, so that we can return to aggressive, effective *labor* unionism.

## RIGHT TO STRIKE

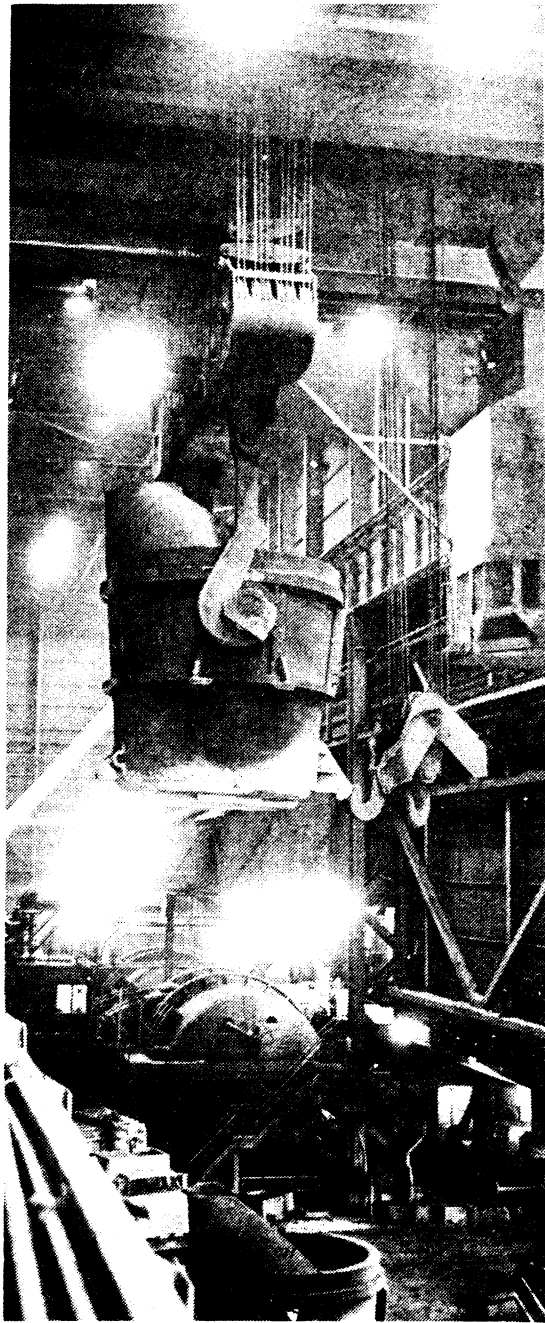
[The Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) was signed in 1973 by Abel and the basic steel corporations. ENA prohibits industry-wide strikes through 1980.]

The right to strike is the origin of the workers' power and any industrial democracy that will mean a better share of the wealth for us cannot be had by abandoning that right.

ENA is completely opposite to what the labor movement should be all about. It's taken all of the bargaining muscle out of your arm. It strips your collective bargaining muscle right down to the bone. It allows this industry to walk all over you, run rampant, and to pay you a mere pittance.

## RIGHT TO VOTE

The old leadership has consistently been opposed to requiring contract ratification. They regard ratification



as a nuisance and as an interference with their ability to run the union as they please.

I trust the intelligence and good sense of steelworkers. I will respond to their wishes and work to meet their demands. That's why I have fought for over a decade to guarantee each member the right to vote on his or her contract.

Any contract that's ever signed in the steelworkers union after we're elected is going to be submitted to the membership for ratification.

## JOB SAFETY

Many occupational diseases and injuries can be prevented if our union does its job. We need the right to shut down hazardous operations without the loss of pay; to conduct on-site inspections at employer expense; and to have health and safety committees in every local with the resources and the teeth to do an effective job.

What you've got to do is say that job's unsafe, it's unsafe now, and it's not going to be worked until it's corrected. And the employee isn't going to lose any money. You shut the job down. You'd be amazed at how readily he'll correct the unsafe condition when you're capable of doing that. It's corrected within minutes.

## GRIEVANCES

I can think of no more frustrating job in the world today than being a grievanceman on the shop floor. The man's hands are tied, he's chained. How many grievancemen you know, myself included, have told the guy, "Well Joe, morally you're right, contractually you're wrong." Well, goddamn it if the guy's morally right, he's right. It's just that simple. You start putting muscle into that labor agreement so that when he's morally right he's going to be right. We'll start making that employer respect that grievance committeeman on that shop floor.

## JOB SECURITY

We've got less people employed today in basic steel because of the tremendous technological advancements in that industry. Fifteen years ago you had 525,000 steelworkers, today you have 357,000 employed. They're

# Blacks, Chicanos, wome

Blacks, Chicanos, and women in steel suffer from discriminatory hiring and promotion policies. They are the hardest hit by layoffs. Often minorities are forced into the most dangerous jobs—the coke ovens, blast furnaces, smelters, and mines. They pay the highest price for lax enforcement of safety conditions.

These union members also face discrimination in housing, education, and throughout society—discrimination the union has failed to combat.

These workers, because they are the most oppressed, have the most to gain from the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign. They are deeply alienated from the old union leadership and are sure to be the most militant and consistent fighters in the battle to transform and revitalize the entire labor movement.

Black workers make up a large proportion of the United Steelworkers membership, especially in basic steel. Yet ever since the union was founded the officialdom resisted Black demands for representation in the top leadership.

Only at last summer's USWA convention—under the pressure of Sadlowski's challenge—did the Abel machine open up a slot in the international for a Black vice-president.

The 1974 consent decree between the union, industry, and the federal government took some steps to rectify job discrimination but left many abuses untouched.

"It's not forceful enough," says

Sadlowski. "It didn't give the people enough tools to correct the situation. It has to go a lot further than it has. It hasn't eliminated discrimination and we've still got a big job ahead of us."

The Fight Back slate includes Oliver Montgomery, a longtime fighter for Black rights in the union, as candidate for vice-president for human affairs. Montgomery is a national executive board member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and chairperson of the Allegheny County AFL-CIO civil rights committee.

Fight Back has already won the support of many Black leaders and organizations both inside and outside the labor movement. The Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers,



Militant/Ruth Robinett  
Oliver Montgomery, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for vice-president for human affairs.

the largest national caucus of Black steelworkers, is backing the Sadlowski slate.

The Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists voted to support the Fight Back campaign and organized a fund-raising event for Montgomery December 18.

Curtis Strong, who is on the staff of the USWA's Civil Rights Department, told the *Militant* why he supports Steelworkers Fight Back. He calls Sadlowski a "new breed" of unionist who can "relate to the problem of Black workers."

He listed Sadlowski's pledges to "integrate the staff of the union at all levels; to hire Black, Chicano, and female union staffers commensurate with their percentage in the population; and to reactivate and enhance the authority of the union's civil rights department" as evidence of what Sadlowski means to do.

Strong also pointed to Fight Back's commitment to the right to vote on contracts. This means, he said, that "if a contract had discriminatory clauses, we could reject it."

The importance to Black workers of a victory for the militant policies advocated by Steelworkers Fight Back was also stressed by John T. Williams. Williams is the business agent for Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles. He is a longtime activist in the Black, anti-Vietnam War, and labor movements.

"Too long have workers been separated by race, by color, by creed, by sex, and by nationality," Williams said.

"Sadlowski is committed to a program designed to advance democratic trade unionism within the steel union

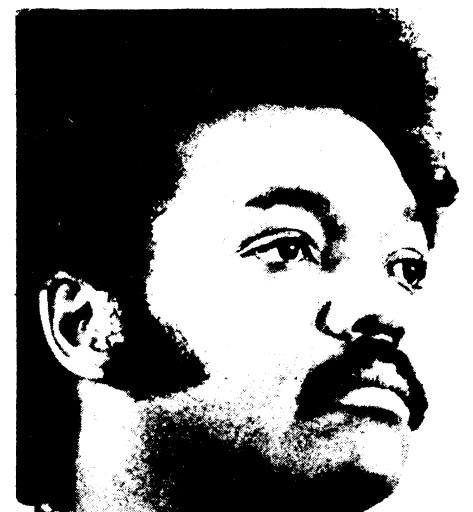
and thereby advance the unity of all workers. Only through such unity shall we be able to aggressively pursue the economic agenda of the labor movement."

Operation PUSH leader Jesse Jackson made a similar point at a Chicago testimonial dinner for Oliver Montgomery last November. "The union needs a new direction, not just new leaders. We have to change things from the bottom up."

Jackson explained he stood "with the forces of rebellion... with folks who have more to gain by fighting than by not fighting. We have got to have change in the steel plants and you must win this election."

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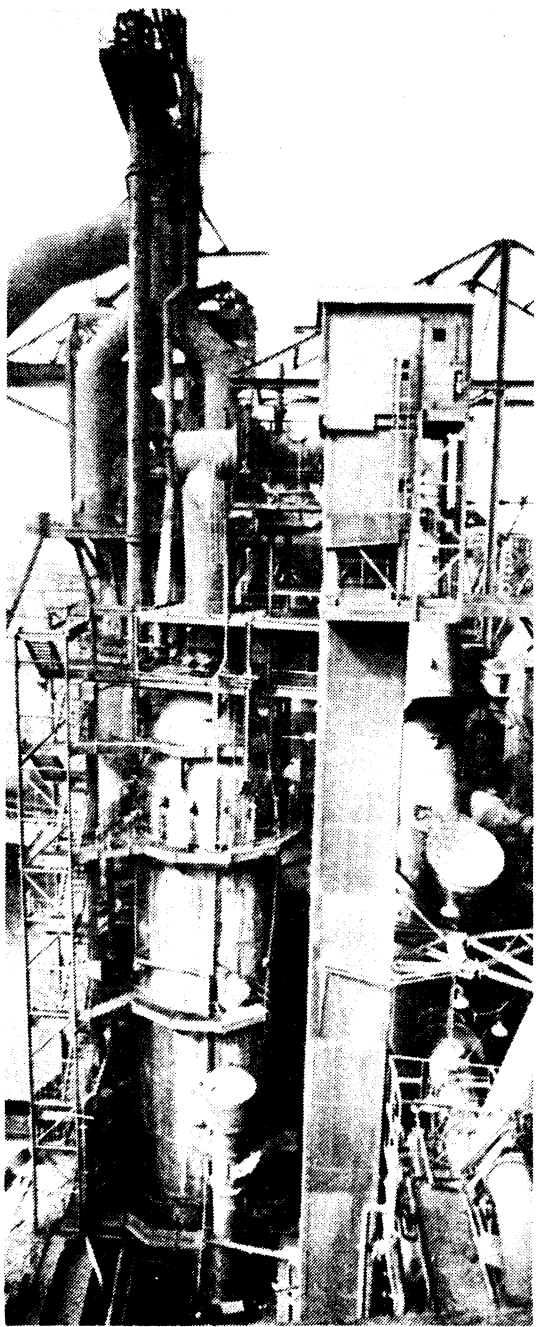
In many plants, mines, and mills under USWA contract—especially in the Southwest—Chicanos are a major



Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH.



# t on issues in steel



producing 135 million anticipated tons of steel this year, where fifteen years ago you were producing 88 million. Now that says something about what the industry has done, and what the union *hasn't* done to keep abreast. I think it's long overdue that we start talking about a shorter workweek. Not just talking about it, but making it a reality.

I looked at the policy resolutions that were submitted at the first wage-policy convention of the United Steelworkers in 1937. And it called for a six-hour day. Now I see in 1964 David J. McDonald, who was the president of this union—because he understood the rumblings of the palace revolt that I.W. Abel was then leading—called for “Total Job Security.” That's twelve years ago. I.W. Abel in his parting shot calls for “Total Job Security.”

Now that platform was laid down in 1937. Abel's had twelve years as the president of this organization to do little or nothing about it. And McDonald before him had twelve years to do little or nothing about it. We need more than just words in this day and age. We need action.

## PENSIONS

My pa is on pension. He put in thirty-eight years at Inland Steel. He's drawing down \$187 a month, I believe. Well, he just got an increase, twenty bucks, probably \$207 now. He can't make it. I don't know of anybody that can make it out of that meager pension.

I believe very firmly that when an individual works for twenty-five or thirty or thirty-five years and goes out on pension, that person should receive the same amount of money on pension as if he was working. There should be no reduction.

## SMALL PLANTS

I don't think just by virtue of someone working for U.S. Steel that that individual should be making more money and more benefits than someone who's working for some small company. Their ambitions, their desires, are the same as someone who works for one of the large firms.

The majority of our members today are employed in

fabricating. You've got a multitude of employers, and one employer playing off the worker against another worker across the street.

One, I think we have to start negotiating things with common expiration dates in geographic areas. We have to start looking at employers, in the Cleveland area for example, as one employer—capable then of negotiating common expiration dates, common rates of pay, etc., in that geographic area. The ultimate thing is that we then negotiate on a national basis.

## How you can help organize

Steelworkers Fight Back has no ready-made machine of staffers to turn out the vote. It will take your active participation—before and after the election—to change this union into what you want it to be. Some things everyone can do:

- Start campaigning right away. Talk to people in your plant or mill. Tell them about the Fight Back campaign. Put up stickers, pass out literature, and invite other unionists to help.

- Join your local Sadlowski campaign organization. If one doesn't exist, start one. Contact the national Steelworkers Fight Back headquarters. Ask them for literature and the names of other Fight Back campaigners in your area.

- Ed Sadlowski cannot win unless the votes are honestly counted on February 8. Any USWA member in good standing is qualified to be a poll watcher. Contact Fight Back to volunteer as a poll watcher. Remember, not just your local but *every* local will have to be covered.

Contact:  
**Steelworkers Fight Back**  
9271 South Chicago Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60617  
Telephone (312) 721-0441

# n have the most to gain

part of the labor force.

They face discrimination based on race and language. They and their families also live under the threat of deportation raids and the charge that they are “illegal aliens.”

Sadlowski has denounced the racist myth—peddled by the bosses and the union bureaucrats—that *mexicano* workers, the so-called illegal aliens, are to blame for unemployment.

“I don't believe we should have fences around this country,” Sadlowski says. “We should be looking at ourselves as citizens of the world.”

Fight Back candidate Ignacio “Nash” Rodriguez is the first Chicano ever to run for international office in the USWA.

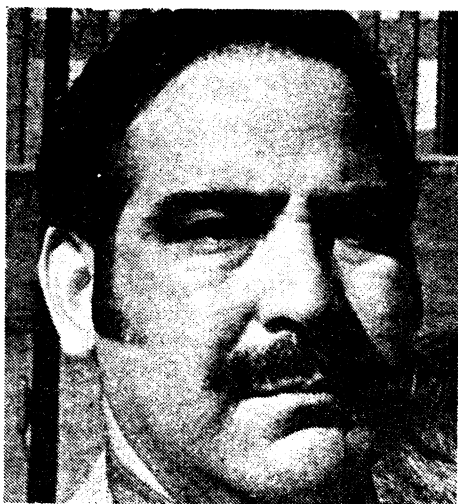
Chicano steelworkers in District 38, covering nine Western states, are also organizing to elect the first Chicano district director in the USWA—Roy Santa Cruz of Phoenix, Arizona.

“I believe,” Santa Cruz says, “not only in Ed's but in the entire slate's philosophy, that we need a change in the way this international is run.”

Other leaders in the Chicano community have also voiced support for Sadlowski and the Fight Back campaign. Juan José Peña, chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida party, told the *Militant*:

“Chicano workers should back movements like the one which Sadlowski is proposing. Unions have traditionally been very similar to professional organizations in that they have excluded Chicanos and they have been very reticent to bring in minorities and organize minorities.

“I think Sadlowski is opening that up and I see that as a break from



Militant/Ruth Robinett  
‘Nash’ Rodriguez, Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for secretary.

traditional unionism and I see that as positive.

“This is something that we Chicanos can and should definitely support. It should be extended to the other unions.”

José Angel Gutiérrez, founder of the Texas Raza Unida party and now Zavala County judge, told the *Militant* this about Steelworkers Fight Back:

“I hope they win. Chicanos and workers in general need to revitalize their unions from the bottom up by being progressive and endorsing the candidacy of people who are progressive, just like Sadlowski and Rodríguez, and I urge them to do so.”

\* \* \*

Women have faced discrimination in hiring, job classification, and promo-

tions ever since they came into the industry in large numbers during World War II. In their efforts to obtain equal treatment they have received little help from the union leadership.

As Kathleen Beasley, a twenty-four-year veteran of Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant, observed in a recent *Militant* interview, “In my plant any female grievance that was ever filed was thrown in the garbage.”

She added, “This steelworkers union has always been terrible on women's issues.”

This is the kind of practice that Steelworkers Fight Back will have to reverse. Fight Back candidate Oliver Montgomery acknowledges, “We have a chauvinistic attitude within the union. That male chauvinist attitude has to be changed.”

Montgomery says that “we need direction from women to give input, to sensitize us.”

Sara Nelson, head of the labor task force of the National Organization for Women, told the *Militant* what some of that input is liable to be:

“It appears to me that Ed Sadlowski represents a grass roots, rank-and-file movement for more democracy.

“The rank and file includes women as well as men. I could say this: I don't know what his positions are on women, but if they're not good, then it's not a true rank-and-file movement.

“Women should be encouraged to set up women's committees and caucuses. To come together and explore their own needs, and then come out with positions and educational actions and materials for the men in the union too.

“Both the employers and the unions are liable under Title VII for discrimi-



Sara Nelson, labor task force head of NOW.

natory practices such as most of the departmental seniority systems. A real show of commitment to equal rights would be to really tackle that stuff in the contracts.

“And if the employer won't cooperate, and if there has to be a lawsuit, then the union should back the women. It shouldn't end up on the same side of the table as the employer.

“Unions should totally support the reversal, through legislation, of the Supreme Court ruling denying maternity benefits.

“These are the kinds of issues that a real rank-and-file movement should address, and there are others, such as pension plans, equal pay for equal work, and many others.”

# Behind the 'outsider' charge

By Andy Rose

Abel and McBride are trying to make "outside influence" the decisive issue in the steelworkers election.

Afraid to debate the real problems facing steelworkers, they hope to maintain their grip over the union by branding Ed Sadlowski as the tool of "employers," "limousine liberals," and "wealthy outsiders."

Abel claims Sadlowski is at one and the same time the agent of "antagonistic millionaires" and dominated by "a broad spectrum of left-wing groups."

The charges have become the rallying cry for the whole encrusted AFL-CIO officialdom. Seeing in Steelworkers Fight Back a threat to their own power and privileges, these bureaucrats have made this a battle of the entire union movement.

George Meany blasts Sadlowski for "illegal" and "unethical" fund raising.

Teachers union President Albert Shanker denounces the insurgent candidate as the "new danger to union democracy."

Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, says if Sadlowski can win, it opens the door to "the Communists, the Mafia, activists, anyone with money and an organization."

Are these high-paid "labor statesmen"—whose entire careers are based on friendly ties with employers and corrupt politicians—really up in arms against "outside influence" in the unions? Not on your life!

Let's take a few examples:

- When J. Bruce Johnston, a top executive of the U.S. Steel Corporation, warned the union in 1975 not to change its dues structure, Abel didn't complain against "outside influence." Instead, he read Johnston's "Dear Abe" letter to last summer's USWA convention, using it as a weapon against Sadlowski and others who sought reform of the dues.

- When U.S. Sen. Hubert Humphrey gave a glowing endorsement to Abel's "tireless, wise, and courageous leadership," and read into the *Congressional Record* Abel's scurrilous convention



Militant/Joel Britton

speech attacking Steelworkers Fight Back—no complaints were heard from the "official family" about outsiders. Instead, Humphrey's words were reprinted in *Steel Labor*, the official USWA publication.

- When Labor Secretary W.J. Usery declared that the union should continue the no-strike agreement signed by Abel, naturally there was no objection from the Abel-McBride camp. After all, the statement was a backhanded endorsement of McBride.

- As for taking money from "outsiders," the AFL-CIO under Meany's leadership has taken funds from the CIA with the specific purpose of carrying out the CIA's dirty work abroad.

In short, some outsiders are more "outside" than others. Outsiders who praise the union's inner circle are OK, those who criticize it are a menace.

Sadlowski's campaign is organized by steelworkers, overwhelmingly financed by steelworkers, and draws its strength from the deepgoing discontent among the union rank and file. No honest observer disputes that.

Abel and McBride falsely accuse Sadlowski of taking money from em-

ployers to cover up the fact that on all vital issues in the steel campaign, they are 100 percent in agreement with the employers.

Like the employers, the Abel-McBride slate oppose the right of union members to vote on their contracts.

Like the employers, they support the no-strike agreement in basic steel and want to see it extended.

Like the employers, they oppose more vigorous action to combat race and sex discrimination on the job.

Like the employers, McBride is for continuing "labor-management partnership" to enforce speedup on the job.

The *Wall Street Journal*, a reliable barometer of big-business sentiment, tells which side the employers really favor. "The outcome is crucial to the steel companies, which had just been getting used to the period of relative labor peace established under Mr. Abel," the *Journal* reported December 21.

"... Many steel executives are clearly worried that the election of Mr. Sadlowski would disrupt the stability of labor-management relations."

Steelworkers Fight Back is up against an entrenched bureaucratic machine, backed by the steel industry and the government.

Against this powerful machine, Sadlowski has sought and received some help—funds and volunteer assistance—from members of other unions and from others who support some or all of his goals. He would be foolish and irresponsible not to seek such help.

This is "outside" support in the best tradition of the aid extended to the early CIO, the civil rights movement, and such struggles today as the United Farm Workers and the Southern textile workers.

The fact is that the stakes are high in the steel election for everyone. Forces throughout society are rallying to one camp or the other.

In McBride's camp stand the employers, the capitalist party politicians, the big-business press, and the union bureaucrats.

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In Sadlowski's camp are growing legions of steelworkers and their allies: workers, organized and unorganized, who want to see a militant and democratic labor movement; Blacks, Chicanos, women; and supporters of democratic rights.

The battle shaping up between these two camps will not end with the February 8 election in steel.

And as the workers in their millions take up this fight, they will surely succeed in releasing their unions from the grip of the real outsiders—the corporations and their agents in the union bureaucracy.

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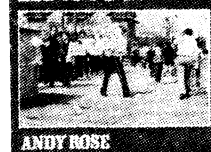
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**The Fight  
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ALBERT SHANKER Militant/Lynn Henderson

# SHANKER VS. SADLOWSKI



ED SADLOWSKI Militant/Glenn Campbell

## 'Outsider' charge used to cover up hatred for Steel Fight Back program

By Lynn Henderson

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, has issued a clarion call to workers in every middlesex, village, and shop, alerting them to an imminent danger to union democracy.

"Now there is a new threat to workers being represented by unions of *their own*," Shanker warns, and devotes his entire union-paid column in the December 26 *New York Times* to exposing this menace.

Rank-and-file control of the unions is not usually a big topic with Shanker, so this column should be of special interest to AFT members and all other unionists.

What threat to union democracy has reared its ugly head? According to Shanker, it is the campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president of the United Steelworkers of America.

If Sadlowski wins the February 8 union election, Shanker declares, he will have "really been put in office by the money and publicity of wealthy tax-exempt foundations, Harvard professors, radical chic movie stars, anti-union employers in other industries, leaders of the left wing of the Democratic Party, and newspapers and TV stations which have had strong anti-union histories."

The indictment is dramatic and sweeping, yet the evidence Shanker provides is rather meager.

### The phony issues

Here are some of Shanker's charges:

- Prof. John Kenneth Galbraith signed a letter inviting people to a fund-raising event for Sadlowski. That is true. Shanker doesn't mention that the letter was cosigned by veteran labor attorney Joseph Rauh and long-time United Auto Workers leader Victor Reuther.

- The CBS television program "Sixty Minutes" did a feature on Sadlowski. Also true, but also not quite the whole truth. Shanker doesn't mention that "Sixty Minutes" requested interviews with Sadlowski's opponents in the union but was given the brush-off.

- "Democratic party politicians Ted Sorensen and Richard Goodwin are working in the Sadlowski campaign," says Shanker. I don't know about Goodwin, but the Sorensen question provoked quite a flap when it came out that the AFL-CIO officialdom tried to dissuade Carter from appointing him CIA director—because of his alleged support to Sadlowski.

When that story hit the news Sorensen issued a statement denying any ties with the Sadlowski campaign and declaring: "I have at no time taken any position, expressed any opinion, authorized any use of my name or

participated in any other way in any union election of any kind at any time."

- "Newspapers across the country usually hostile to unions and their leaders have treated Sadlowski more favorably than almost any other union leader in recent memory."

Which newspapers?

What stories?

When?

Shanker doesn't say.

It's not hard to see why. All the major big-business press—including the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Business Week*, and others—have made it clear that they and the interests they speak for view Sadlowski as a threat.

As a matter of fact, just three weeks before Shanker's column appeared, "newspapers across the country" printed an anti-Sadlowski diatribe by the antiunion, right-wing columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak—*making the same false charges of "outsider" domination of Steelworkers Fight Back that Shanker echoes!*

Without taking up every charge tossed in by Shanker, these examples should make it clear that he has played fast and loose with the facts.

Shanker then tries to stretch his paper-thin argument into a little red-baiting by quoting a fellow guardian of union democracy, Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

"If the Reuthers, the Galbraiths and the Ted Sorensens can do it," Finley says, "so can the Communists, the Mafia, activists, anyone with money and an organization."

After this denunciation of "outsiders," Finley goes on to explain with a straight face, "That's why I went to my [presumably he means the ACTWU's] executive board for individual donations for McBride." Lloyd McBride is the union bureaucracy's choice to succeed retiring I.W. Abel as USWA president.

### Victims and criminals

To portray the Abel-McBride machine as the *victim* of undemocratic practices is an insult to workers' intelligence.

Sadlowski, a third-generation steelworker with twenty years of experience in the union, ran for director of District 31 in 1973 against Sam Evett, the machine candidate.

The bureaucracy, as it is accustomed to doing, won the "official" count for Evett through mass stuffing of the ballot boxes. The fraud was so flagrant that Sadlowski won a new election after challenging the vote-theft in court.

The record does not show any complaints by Shanker about this

gross violation of union democracy by the Abel machine.

In a government-supervised rerun of the District 31 election, Sadlowski won by a two-to-one majority.

In the current election, it is Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back movement that are demanding the right of all steelworkers to vote on their contracts. It is the Abel-McBride forces that have denied union members this basic democratic right.

Abel even wants to change the union constitution to take away the democratic right of the membership to elect their top officers by secret ballot.

In the future he wants officers elected in delegated conventions—the way Shanker is now elected in the AFT—which are more easily controlled by the incumbent bureaucracy.

It is true that there are many outside the steel union who are interested in the outcome of this election. Among the most interested are the steel companies, and they are far from neutral.

"The outcome is crucial to the steel companies, which had just been getting used to the period of relative labor peace established under Mr. Abel," the *Wall Street Journal* reported December 21.

"... Many steel executives are clearly worried that the election of Mr. Sadlowski would disrupt the stability of labor-management relations."

### The real issues

Shanker's bitter opposition to the Sadlowski campaign has nothing to do with the fact that a few professors and movie stars have expressed support for Steelworkers Fight Back. That is a

smoke screen to cover up his real objections.

What Shanker—like Finley and other AFL-CIO bureaucrats—is opposed to is what Sadlowski is saying and doing. Shanker opposes the *program* that Sadlowski is running on, but he doesn't have the guts to attack it honestly.

At the heart of Sadlowski's campaign is a seemingly simple trade-union principle: *The interests of the workers and the bosses are not the same—they are opposed. And the purpose of the union is to fight for the workers' needs, not to look out for the profits of the employers.*

"The workers and the boss have nothing in common," Sadlowski says. "It is a class question."

Shanker, Finley, Abel, McBride, George Meany, and the rest of the union bureaucracy have a different view of the unions. They see workers and employers as "partners" in a kind of mutually beneficial endeavor.

So long as the employer is doing well financially, the worker will prosper too. In a spirit of "mutual understanding and respect" (to use Abel's description of labor-management relations in steel), the role of the union is to facilitate the smooth functioning of this partnership.

### Shanker's record

Shanker's response to the massive attack on New York City public employees has been to seek a deal with the bosses—the Democratic party administration, the banks, and the Emergency Financial Control Board. His goal was never to stop the layoffs and

*Continued on next page*

## Meany gets into the act

Shanker's charges against Ed Sadlowski are not the product of a personal vendetta or individual aberration. They are part of a smear campaign mapped out at the highest levels of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

On January 10 AFL-CIO President George Meany publicly endorsed McBride's and Shanker's slanders against Fight Back. Meany claimed Sadlowski has taken "illegal" and "unethical" contributions from "employers and wealthy angels."

Meany said he had never before interfered in the internal politics of an AFL-CIO union, but that in Sadlowski's case it was "impossible to remain silent."

True, but not for the reason Meany gives. The Steelworkers Fight Back campaign challenges the class-

collaborationist policies that are Meany's hallmark.

In 1955 Meany celebrated his accession to the presidency of the newly merged AFL-CIO by boasting before the National Association of Manufacturers: "I never went on strike in my life, never ran a strike in my life, never ordered anyone else to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line."

That is Meany's philosophy, and he fears the Fight Back campaign means some changes are coming.

Sitting comfortably in his \$90,000-a-year post as chief "labor statesman," Meany is not interested in any changes.

He is completely satisfied with what organized labor can do for a man who, for more than fifty years, has worked with neither hand nor brain but only with the mouth.



## ...Shanker

Continued from preceding page

budget cutbacks, but to persuade the city to cut other workers rather than teachers.

The result of Shanker's policy? Fifteen thousand teachers laid off so far, and more to come.

Sadlowski opposes any curb on the right to strike, labor's most important weapon. He opposes the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed in 1973 by Abel and supported by McBride.

Shanker doesn't put much faith in strikes. He secretly opposed—by his own later admission—the five-day New York teachers' strike in September 1975 and did everything he could to sabotage and end it, without achieving the teachers' demands.

Rather than strikes, Shanker's latest contribution to "responsible" trade unionism is his public proposal to surrender the right of New York employees to collective bargaining for the duration of the city financial crisis.

### Racism in union

Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back take a hard stand against racism. "You can't be a unionist and be a racist," says Sadlowski. "That's a divide and conquer game."

In 1968 Shanker did lead the New York City teachers into a strike he had no reservations about. It was not a strike for higher wages or better working conditions for teachers. It was a racist strike against the Black and Puerto Rican communities to prevent community control of their schools.

Shanker's policies in New York have maintained the United Federation of Teachers as a white job trust and isolated the union from the majority of parents and students. The city schools, with a student population that is 67 percent minorities, employ less than 5 percent Black and Latino teachers.

The federal Office for Civil Rights, after a two-and-a-half-year study, recently reported that New York public schools have one of the worst records in the country of hiring-discrimination against Black and Latino teachers.

Shanker's immediate reaction was to join hands with the boss—Irving Anker, head of the New York City Board of Education—in defending the system against all charges of discrimination.

Sadlowski spoke out within the USWA against the Vietnam War and he opposes the astronomical war budget today, citing it as a prime source of inflation.

"Too much of the wealth," Sadlowski says, "... has for too long been shunted into nonconsumable goods, particularly in the weapons economy."

Shanker, a diehard supporter of the Vietnam War, also has criticisms of the war budget. It is too small, he publicly maintains, and calls for increases in spending for armaments.

Shanker is right about one thing. "This is not just another union election," he says. That gets right to the point.

The Steelworkers Fight Back campaign reflects a new mood that is stirring union members and other workers. Sadlowski has given voice to this new mood and militancy.

This is what Shanker fears and opposes. Most of all he fears that other unionists—including teachers!—may draw inspiration from Steelworkers Fight Back and start fighting for democratic, rank-and-file control over their own unions.

But Shanker dares not explain his opposition openly and directly. Instead he deals in fairy tales: that Sadlowski is a danger to union democracy because he is the candidate of "employers" and "outsiders."

But this is not a good season for fairy tales. The 15,000 New York teachers who have lost their jobs under Shanker's leadership can testify to that.

# Dissident Houston steelworker elected president at Hughes Tool

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—W.R. Morris, a young Chicano steelworker, was elected president of United Steelworkers Local 1742 at Hughes Tool Company here in a hard-fought special election December 14.

The special election was held because the ballots from the regular local election last April were "lost."

More than 500 Hughes workers voted for Morris in the first big show of opposition to the right-wing threats and intimidation that have plagued the plant since the shooting of Sadlowski activist Ben Corum at the plant gate last summer.

Since the election, Hughes management has denied Morris access to the plant. This paralyzes the employee grievance procedure, since one of the main responsibilities of the local president is to participate in grievance meetings with the company representatives. These meetings are all held in the plant.

Morris was fired by Hughes after he came close to winning the local presidency in the April election. He was charged with "using threatening remarks and abusive language to a supervisor."

Morris is contesting his firing through the grievance procedure. He has also filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board against the company for interfering with a union election by firing him.

On December 28 Morris filed a second charge with the NLRB after the company refused him admittance to the plant.

Chris Dixie, attorney for United Steelworkers District 37, has sent an official union protest to the company demanding that Morris be allowed into the plant.

### Union-building proposals

On January 5 union members began plant-gate distribution of a newsletter in which Morris proposed several measures "to strengthen our union and build unity." These include:

- launching a membership drive (the so-called right-to-work law in Texas outlaws the union shop),
- encouraging greater membership participation in local meetings and committees, and
- initiating membership discussion of demands for the union's upcoming contract talks.

The newsletter also explains the company's refusal to recognize Morris and the threat this represents to the union. "Not only is Hughes attacking me," Morris writes, "but they are attacking your right as union members to be represented by your elected president."

Morris's supporters are also circulating a petition inside the plant protesting this attack on the union. So far the company's only response has been to suspend and threaten to fire a Chicano worker who was caught circulating the petition.

Morris says he will file another charge with the NLRB to defend the job of this worker.

Morris's second campaign for local president got under way after the November local meeting that voted on nominations for international union officers. Morris participated in that meeting in support of the Sadlowski slate. Sadlowski supporters mustered fifty-eight votes to seventy-seven for McBride.

That vote was taken at a union hall located far from the plant. The December election of local officers was a secret-ballot vote held at the plant gates, a more democratic procedure allowing much larger participation.

The December rerun was preceded by a week of intensive campaigning.



W.R. MORRIS: 'It's time for a change because steelworkers who don't go along with the official program have been threatened, intimidated, fired, and shot at.'

Several local offices were at stake. Five candidates ran for president, but attention was focused on the race between Morris and incumbent W.W. Woods.

When Ben Corum was shot outside Hughes Tool last summer, Woods as local president quashed efforts to put the local on record against the shooting or to offer a reward. No one has ever been arrested for the attempted murder.

At the steelworkers convention in Las Vegas last summer, Woods was a signer of red-baiting literature distributed against Sadlowski.

Morris's campaign literature declared: "It's time for a change because Steelworkers who don't go along with the official program have been threatened, intimidated, fired, and shot at."

Woods's arsenal against Morris included a red-baiting leaflet and rumors that Morris "got himself fired" and that his name would not appear on the ballot.

Morris responded with a second leaflet headed: "The Truth About W.R. Morris—Don't Believe the Lies!" Morris also went to the news media and his campaign received considerable coverage—an unusual development for the labor movement in Houston.

### Red-baiting

The red-baiting leaflet distributed by Woods was headed: "A Few Questions

You May Want to Ask." These questions included: "Why Is The Socialist Workers Party Interested In W.R. Morris For Local Union President? Why Did They Help Him Hand Out His Literature? What Concessions Has He made To Them For Their Support?"

"Who Is Furnishing Finances For His Campaign?"

But the red-baiting didn't have the desired effect. A few days later Morris won the election by a narrow margin.

At the first local meeting after the election, December 19, diehard right-wingers tried to block approval of the tellers' report confirming Morris's victory. But they were outmobilized by the Chicano, Black, and young white workers who had backed Morris, and the tellers' report was adopted by a vote of about 100 to 50. The meeting also voted that balloting for the February 8 international union election will be at the plant gates to allow the greatest turnout.

The latest move by the right-wingers is a letter to union officials urging that the union not pay Morris's salary—on the grounds that Hughes Tool has barred him from company property. In short, they would allow the company to dictate who the union can and cannot elect.

### Morris responds

In a January 10 interview with the *Militant*, Morris responded to the red-baiting and other charges:

"I don't ask a person's political beliefs," he said. "As long as we all have the same things in mind to get this local together and have a labor organization that represents all the workers out here at this company."

"That's all I'm interested in. If their ideas go along this same line, we work fine."

"I'm only interested in one thing: building a good strong local union. I don't want to know your political beliefs; I won't tell you mine."

"But this other thing about building the union, this affects us all, all the people who work out here."

"I'm not associated with anything. I'm a steelworker raising hell. I'm good at that. They label me a communist. Well, they label anyone a communist"

Continued on page 30

## Playing the boss's game

HOUSTON—E.L. Jones is president of Local 2708 at Armco Steel's Houston Works, the largest USWA local in this area.

He is one of the union officials who physically attacked leafleters for Ed Sadlowski at the Armco gates last summer. Jones accused the pro-Sadlowski steelworkers of being "outsiders."

But on December 27 Jones organized a meeting for members of his local to hear a real outsider to the union: C. William Verity, Jr., chairman of Armco Steel. Verity has laid off some 1,000 members of Local 2708 in the past eighteen months.

The meeting was called so laid-off steelworkers could hear Jones and Verity assure them that Armco was not to blame for their plight. It's all because of Japanese imports, they were told.

The 200 workers who attended were offered no hope of returning to their jobs. Verity even implied that the entire plant, now employing 3,325 workers, might be closed.

Jones's answer was to call on the steelworkers to get behind the company's campaign for import restrictions. He urged the laid-off workers to write to Congress: "Tell them, 'You no vote for me, I no vote for

you.'"

"It's about time we buy what our fellow workers are making," Jones added. "Maybe we have people driving to unemployment offices in Volkswagens."

Evidently to Jones the workers who make Volkswagens are not "fellow workers." To him, workers in other countries are the enemy, and the corporation boss is the friend.

With this attitude, it is not surprising that E.L. Jones has tried to prevent Ed Sadlowski from getting a hearing in Houston.

When Sadlowski spoke here last November, Jones stood outside the meeting with a movie camera filming people going in. Those who braved the intimidation heard Sadlowski speak on the question of foreign competition along with other issues.

"Hold the industrialists to blame for unemployment," Sadlowski declared. "Don't blame the American worker or the Japanese worker."

Sadlowski insists that it's "the boss's game" to say foreign workers are "taking an American worker's job."

In his own way, E.L. Jones is proving just how true that statement is.

# World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM  
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

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## 1976: a year of rising struggles in Africa, China, and Western Europe

This expanded World Outlook features three articles from the '1976 in Review' issue of Intercontinental Press. Other articles in this issue summarized the major events and political trends in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, Canada, the United States, and Australia and New Zealand. Copies of the December 27 Intercontinental Press are available for 75¢ from the address below. But if you like the incisive Marxist analyses in these articles, why not receive them week-by-week instead of once a year? Subscribe to Intercontinental Press. \$24 for one year. Write: P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## Southern Africa: a flashpoint of world revolution

By Ernest Harsch

Nineteen seventy-six was a bad year for imperialism in southern Africa.

Washington and Pretoria—the two greatest enemies of African liberation—experienced a political setback in Angola when they were forced to end their direct intervention in the civil war there. Most importantly, the white supremacist regimes in Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa itself were shaken by mounting national and class struggles, as the oppressed Black masses in those countries surged forward in their historic battle to rid the continent of white colonial rule.

This new rise in the African freedom struggle has set alarm bells ringing in imperialist capitals around the world.

### Angola

As the year opened, the civil war that began in Angola in 1975 was still raging. Three nationalist organizations, each of which had a record of struggle against Portuguese colonialism, were now battling each other for control of the mineral-rich former colony.

Neither the MPLA, FNLA, nor UNITA<sup>1</sup> represented the interests of the Angolan workers and peasants. Nor did they favor the overthrow of capitalism in Angola, the only basis for the attainment of real national independence. The civil war was basically a factional struggle for power between three procapitalist forces.

The conflict also reflected the tensions between the three main nationalities in the country. The FNLA was based primarily among the Bakongo in the north, the MPLA among the Mbundu in the Luanda-Malange region, and the UNITA among the Ovimbundu and other peoples of central and southern Angola.

The imperialist powers, with Washington and Pretoria in the lead, sought to take advantage of this factional war to attain their own objectives. They intervened directly in the conflict in order to prolong and heighten it, thus weakening the Angolan independence struggle as a whole and making it easier to press for concessions from all



TROOPS IN ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR: 'The imperialist powers, with Washington and Pretoria in the lead, sought to take advantage of factional warfare to attain their objectives.'

sides involved. Another goal was to prevent Moscow, which was aiding the MPLA, from gaining increased diplomatic influence as a result of an MPLA victory.

To achieve these aims, the White House launched a major covert operation in 1975 to bolster one side in the war, sending tens of millions of dollars in arms to the FNLA and UNITA. (Significantly, the American Gulf Oil Corporation was at the same time paying the MPLA more than \$100 million in taxes and royalties on the oil produced from its Cabinda wells.)

In addition, Washington urged the South African regime to send its own troops into Angola against the MPLA. Besides sharing the general aims of the other imperialist powers, Pretoria also saw an opportunity to strike out at the southern Angola bases of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence from South African rule.

### Antiwar sentiment

In an effort to provide a political cover for its aggression, Washington conducted a bellicose diplomatic campaign against Moscow and Havana for

their aid to the MPLA. But the American people, who had passed through the experience of the Vietnam War and were familiar with Washington's phony justifications, did not sit back and allow the Ford administration's war plans to go unchecked.

The broad antiwar sentiment in the United States forced Congress to limit the White House's ability to continue its direct intervention. That in turn prompted the South Africans to pull their own troops out of Angola, the last of whom left the country March 27. With the South African withdrawal, the most immediate danger to Angola's independence had receded.

The MPLA won the civil war with massive Soviet military aid and the direct backing of thousands of Cuban troops. It drove many of the FNLA forces out of the country and forced the UNITA to abandon the cities it controlled in central and southern Angola. But having retained some support, the UNITA reverted to guerrilla warfare in the countryside, carrying out actions against the MPLA and Cuban forces for the remainder of the year.

The repressive course of the new MPLA regime became obvious within a few weeks. The MPLA's secret police

rounded up scores of dissidents, many of them to the left of the MPLA tops, and threatened some with execution. When a wave of strikes broke out in May, dozens of striking workers were also jailed.

Despite the MPLA's "socialist" verbiage, it has sought to bolster capitalist economic relations within the country and has reopened Angola's doors to foreign investors. Shortly after the end of the civil war, Gulf Oil resumed its operations in the oil-rich territory of Cabinda. By far the largest imperialist holding in Angola, the Cabinda oil wells earn Gulf about \$20 million a year. The MPLA made it clear that other foreign investors would also be welcome.

The failure of the U.S.-South African intervention in Angola had an electric effect throughout southern Africa, especially in those countries still under white colonial rule. It proved to the Black masses that Washington and Pretoria—the principal bulwarks of racist oppression in southern Africa—were not invincible, encouraging them to step up their fight for freedom.

The impact of the imperialist setback in Angola was most immediately felt in Zimbabwe, which is ruled by a white minority regime headed by Prime Minister Ian Smith. Of all the remaining white regimes in southern Africa, the Smith regime is the weakest, being based on a white population of only 250,000, compared to a Black population of more than 6 million.

Beginning in February, the Zimbabwean freedom fighters sharply increased their guerrilla campaign against the Smith regime. After the Smith regime invaded Mozambique to strike at the guerrilla bases, the Mozambican regime closed its border with Rhodesia March 3, cutting off one of the Smith regime's major trade routes.

The sharp rise in the struggle for Black majority rule in Zimbabwe has eroded the position of the Smith regime, a fact that Washington and the other imperialist powers are acutely aware of. They fear that Smith's continued intransigence will provoke an even greater upsurge of the Black struggle, leading to a collapse of the colonial-settler regime and possibly threatening imperialist interests in Zimbabwe and in the rest of southern Africa as well.

In an effort to defuse the Zimbabwean freedom struggle and pave the way for the establishment of a Black

*Continued on next page*

1. Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front), União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

## ...southern Africa: a flashpoint of world revolution

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neocolonial regime willing to protect imperialist economic and political interests, Washington, London, and Pretoria joined hands to pressure Smith into making some compromises. Henry Kissinger personally took charge of the operation when he began his first tour of Africa April 24.

The fruits of this campaign became evident when Smith announced September 24: "Rhodesia agrees to majority rule within two years." Although he went on to detail a number of escape clauses that in effect would have perpetuated white domination, his announcement was an admission of the regime's weakness and led to the opening of negotiations with the major Zimbabwean nationalist leaders in Geneva.

When the talks began on October 28, government officials in Washington and London openly displayed their pleasure. It allowed them to stall for time and gave them an opportunity to try to play the various Zimbabwean leaders off against each other and to channel the struggle for majority rule in a "safe" direction.

So far, the four most well-known nationalist leaders—Joshua Nkomo, Robert Mugabe, Abel Muzorewa, and Ndabaningi Sithole—have been willing to participate in the talks. None of them has pressed for immediate Black majority rule.

By the end of the year, however, the imperialists had not yet been successful in dampening the conflict within Zimbabwe itself. The guerrilla war continued to escalate and the Smith regime stepped up its terrorist attacks against the civilian population.

One sign of the rising militancy among the Zimbabwean population was the staging of demonstrations in October in Salisbury and Bulawayo, the two largest cities, to greet two of the nationalist leaders. Both demonstrations drew crowds of more than 100,000 Blacks.

The freedom struggle in Namibia, which has been governed as a direct colony of South Africa since the end of World War I, has also advanced.

In the wake of the South African pullback from southern Angola, SWAPO guerrillas operating from bases in that country stepped up their actions against the South African occupation forces in Namibia. SWAPO's political influence among the Namibian population also increased during the year.

In face of this mounting resistance, Pretoria adopted a two-sided approach to protect its vast political and economic interests in the territory.

It strengthened its military forces in the colony and carried out a mass campaign of terror against the civilian population, particularly in the north, a traditional area of SWAPO support. Since June, between 40,000 and 50,000 villagers were uprooted, some of them being routinely tortured.

The other side of Pretoria's strategy involves the phony "constitutional" talks being staged in Windhoek between white officials and African tribal chiefs. On August 18, the participants announced plans for the establishment of a "multiracial" regime that would supposedly lead the country to independence by the end of 1978. SWAPO, which refused to take part in the talks, rejected the scheme as another attempt by Pretoria to isolate SWAPO and perpetuate South African domination.

### Under the heel of apartheid

The most massive Black struggles of the year erupted in the imperialist bastion of South Africa.

The first student protests that began in the Black city of Soweto June 16

were specifically directed against the imposition of Afrikaans, the language of the Boer section of the white population, as a language of instruction in some Black schools.

The language issue, however, was only a detonator that touched off a

The conditions in the reserves, where between one-third to one-half of the African population lives, are wretched. Since very little of the land is cultivable, malnutrition is endemic. In the Transkei, Pretoria's "showcase" Bantustan, about 40 percent of African

four Black adults is arrested.

On October 26, the apartheid regime launched a further attack on African rights when it declared the Transkei "independent." The more than 3 million Africans assigned to the Transkei, whether they live there or not, were denied their South African citizenship on the claim that they were "citizens" of the Transkei.

Much of the active Black opposition to racist rule had been suppressed after the 1960 massacre at Sharpeville, in which sixty-nine Blacks were gunned down.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, a new layer of Black militants emerged. They formed organizations like the South African Students Organisation (SASO), the Black People's Convention (BPC), and the South African Student Movement (SASM). They advocated the concept of Black Consciousness, condemning all apartheid institutions and stressing Black self-reliance and the organization of Blacks themselves to attain their liberation.

In addition, the growing proletarianization and urbanization of Blacks, as well as the achievement of independence in Mozambique and Angola, were factors that reinforced the combativity of the Black population.

### Black uprisings

The strength and determination expressed by Blacks in the uprisings following June 16 forced the regime to make a few token concessions in an effort to defuse the Black anger. The ruling on the use of Afrikaans in Black schools was scrapped. Urban Africans, except for those in Cape Province, were told that they could now buy or build their own homes in the townships without first becoming "citizens" of the Bantustans, as Pretoria had previously insisted.

Pretoria coupled these token measures with a broad witch-hunt against Black organizations and individuals. By the end of October, more than 4,600 Blacks were known to have been arrested, including more than 400 held under the country's various security laws, which allow indefinite detention without trial. Virtually every Black leader in South Africa known to the regime was seized in Vorster's dragnet.

Rather than beating the young Black militants into submission, the witch-hunt became another issue around which the students rallied.

One notable feature of the mass protests was the growing unity among the different sectors of the Black community. The apartheid regime has long tried to divide Indians and Coloureds from Africans by giving them a few more rights and by allowing them to hold more skilled jobs than Africans. But more and more young Coloureds and Indians have recognized that they too are part of the oppressed Black majority and have joined hands with Africans to fight against the common enemy.

In the Western Cape, where most Coloureds live, Coloured students staged boycotts of classes and held demonstrations in Cape Town itself. At the University of Durban-Westville, an all-Indian university in Natal Province, 1,500 students staged a boycott of classes in solidarity with the Soweto uprisings.

### Black workers

One of the most important developments during the protests was the massive participation of the Black working class.

The first general strike of August 23-25 was called by the Soweto Students Representative Council (SRC) to de-

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Zimbabwe's six million Blacks are fighting to end white minority rule

**'Washington fears that the continued intransigence of the Smith regime in Rhodesia will provoke an even greater upsurge of the Black struggle, possibly threatening imperialist interests in Zimbabwe and in the rest of southern Africa as well.'**



With a white population of only 250,000 compared to a Black population of more than six million, the Smith regime in Rhodesia is the weakest remaining white regime in southern Africa.

deep rage among the Black population as a whole against the entire system of apartheid.

South African society is based on the domination and exploitation of nearly 22 million Blacks<sup>2</sup> by a white population of only 4.3 million.

Although Blacks provide the bulk of the labor, whites own virtually the entire wealth of the country, which has a highly industrialized economy. About 87 percent of South Africa's entire land area is officially allocated for whites, while Africans can only own land in the overcrowded reserves, called Bantustans.

2. South Africa's Black population is composed of 18.6 million Africans, 2.4 million Coloureds, and 746,000 Indians. The Coloureds are descendants of the early white settlers, Malay slaves, and native Khoikhoi, San, and other African peoples.

children die before the age of ten. Employment in the reserves is almost nonexistent, forcing the inhabitants to seek work on a migrant labor basis in "white" South Africa.

In the urban areas, where about one-third of all Africans live, the conditions are little better. Soweto and the other Black townships are nothing but overcrowded and segregated slums.

Blacks have virtually no rights. The all-encompassing system of apartheid controls every aspect of their lives, regulating where they can live and work, how much they can be paid and for what jobs, and whom they can and cannot marry. Strikes by Africans are banned and African trade unions are not recognized. The Vorster regime has at its disposal a vast array of repressive legislation, which is enforced by large and heavily armed police and military forces. Each year, one in every



# Radicalization continues advance in West Europe

By Gerry Foley

In 1976, the reformist workers parties and reformist-led unions in West Europe succeeded generally in containing or diverting the radicalization of the masses hit by rising unemployment and rising prices.

However, there were indications that in most countries the pressure was continuing to build up, despite the efforts of the Stalinists and Social Democrats. Among the most spectacular of these were two mass mobilizations of up to a million persons each in Athens. The first was for the funeral May 5 of Alekos Panagoulis, hero of the antidictatorial resistance, killed in a suspicious automobile accident. The second was on November 17 to commemorate the 1973 student uprising that dealt a mortal blow to the dictatorship of the colonels.

In Spain, within a few months after the death of Franco in November 1975, the spreading mass upsurge against the dictatorship began to threaten more and more to wash over the Generalissimo's successors. Protests against continued repression and demands for amnesty for political prisoners combined with strikes against the government's attempts to make the workers pay the costs of the international economic crisis. The oppressed Basque workers continued to set the pace in the struggle, and mass mobilizations developed around demands for national rights by the other oppressed nationalities in the Spanish state.

## Spain's 'transition'

By the latter part of 1976, authoritative voices of American imperialism, such as the *New York Times*, were beginning to express fears that the "transition" regime had lost control of the situation. It was clear that the authorities had been forced to concede a considerable number of de facto democratic rights and that mass mobilizations were developing rapidly on all sorts of fundamental social and

political questions, including equal rights for women. But the authorities continued to carry out big repressive operations, and the regime remained basically intact.

The fact that a national general strike could be held November 12 was an indication of how far the mass mobilization had advanced. But in its limitations it also showed that the reformists were still able to contain the movement.

In 1976, Portugal and Greece set the tone for the Mediterranean tier. But what they exemplified most strikingly in the past year was the success of the reformist parties in diverting mass upsurges away from socialist revolution.

In Greece, the two Communist parties called on the workers to join in a national union with the bourgeoisie against the threat of "Turkish chauvinism." Thus, they allowed the "de Gaulle of Greece," Premier Constantine Caramanlis, to consolidate his position.

## Portugal

In Portugal, both the CP and SP suffered losses in the April elections, but the two continued to hold a small overall majority.

Soares then made a deal with the MFA, backing a military strongman, General Ramalho Eanes, in the June presidential elections. This decision aroused indignation among the rank and file of the SP, and whole units openly defied the leadership by refusing to campaign for Eanes.

The CP had an opportunity to appeal to the SP ranks to unite around a candidate that would represent the working class. Instead, it tried to make its own deal with Eanes, and only after being publicly rebuffed did it decide to put up its own candidate, Octavio Pato.

But Pato did not really oppose Eanes. The CP continued fundamentally to apply for the position of junior partner to the MFA. Its only objective



PORTUGUESE WORKERS: Have suffered setbacks as a result of policies of the reformist parties.

was to make a show of strength in the elections to gain a stronger hand in the bargain. This did not inspire enthusiasm among the workers. Pato polled under 8%, less than half of what the party got in the legislative elections.

The CP's "direct democracy" demagoguery, followed by its retreats, prepared the way for the bourgeois demagogue Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, who gained about 16% of the vote, mostly from supporters of the CP and the radicalized petty-bourgeois groups taken in by the "people's power" rhetoric.

The workers showed in every possible way that they did not want to vote for Eanes. Despite the support of all the big parties, given openly or underhandedly, he got only 61% of the vote, with one-quarter of the electorate abstaining. In the industrial center of Setúbal, he failed even to get a majority. The bulk of his vote must have come from the bourgeois parties.

Eanes did support an all-SP government. But he intended this government to function as his instrument. Well-informed capitalist papers explained that the general had forced Soares to take a tougher line on austerity than his cabinet would accept. They began to talk about left-wingers in the SP cabinet being an obstacle to "effective" policy.

## Witch-hunt of the SP left

Soares was obliged to move to smash the left wing of the SP. The campaign opened before the party congress at the end of October with a series of expulsions. At the congress itself, the left wing was removed from the effective party leadership. In the weeks afterward, the SP labor bodies controlled by the left were dissolved. American officials in Lisbon let it be known that new loans were conditional on Soares bringing his party to heel.

The CP congress in November made it clear that the party had not changed its fundamental line. Speakers at the gathering attacked the SP cabinet, but their attacks were put in a context that showed that as far as they were concerned, all the vices of the government could be cured by including a few CP ministers.

Despite continual setbacks suffered as a result of the policies of the reformist parties, the radicalization in Portugal continues to recede very slowly. In the December 12 municipal elections, the workers parties once again got a majority of the popular vote. The CP, which is not as much identified with the government as its rival, topped its previous high of April 1975.

## Italy

In Italy also, the reformists have come to the rescue of a hard pressed bourgeoisie. Here, the CP has gained almost unchallenged leadership of the working class. The SP, compromised by long association with bourgeois governments, has been reduced to a minor role.

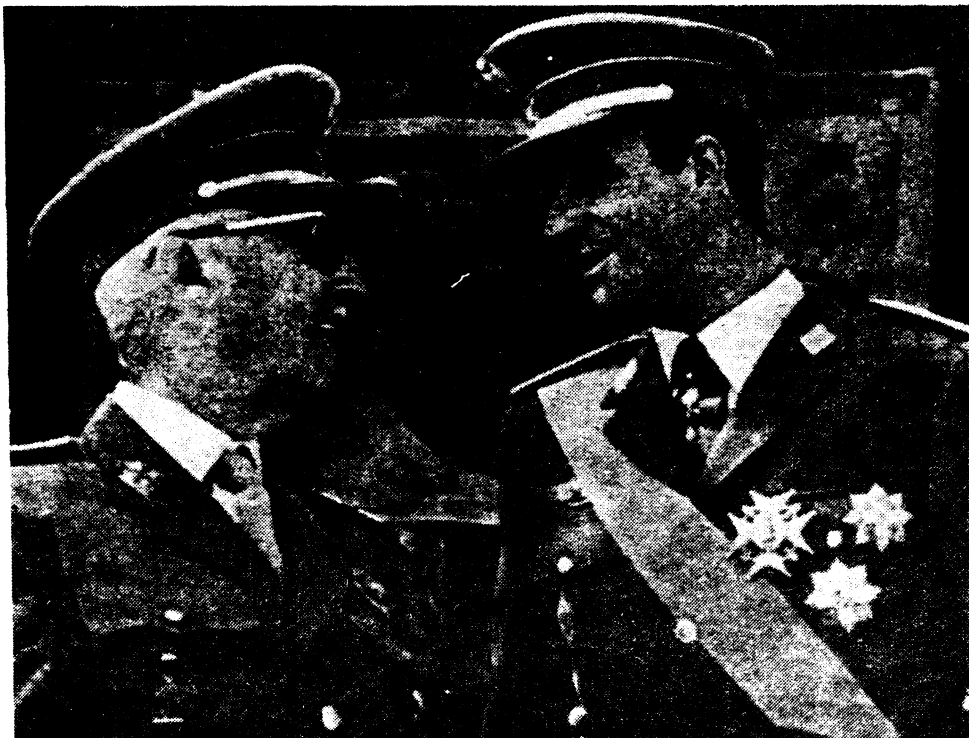
In 1976, the bourgeoisie's only viable political instrument, the Christian Democratic party, which has ruled throughout the postwar period, went into crisis. As a Catholic party, it was hit hard by the rise of the women's liberation movement, which challenged the Catholic moral code. Its credibility was eroded by exposures of bribes by Lockheed to high governmental officials. The deepening of the economic crisis showed that the successive Christian Democrat governments had not achieved stable economic development.

The onset of the crisis of the Christian Democrats was marked by the victory of the divorce forces in the May 1974 referendum. In 1976, the weekly magazine *Espresso* and the Radical party, a small activist formation, conducted a campaign for a referendum on the right of abortion.

The CP, which has been seeking to improve its relations with the Church, tried to avoid a confrontation on these questions. In an attempt to outflank the CP to the left, the SP took a more aggressive stance. Opinion polls showed the SP gaining as a result, so party leaders decided to use this issue to force a new election, which was held June 20.

The SP failed, in fact, to make any gains. Its objective was too obviously

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SPAIN'S JUAN CARLOS WITH FRANCO: By the end of 1976, American imperialists were beginning to fear that the new king's 'transition regime' had lost control.

## ...China: Hua steers course on choppy sea

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the military dictatorships of Indonesia, Brazil, Argentina, and Chile. The Pinochet junta in Chile, in fact, declared three days of national mourning with flags at half mast. Chile was granted a loan upwards of \$50 million by Peking in 1975.

Mao's body was hardly cold before the bureaucracy moved to smash his closest collaborators and repudiate as "fascist" policies previously associated with his name.

On October 6 or 7, four top party leaders, all Politburo members, were placed under house arrest. These included Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's widow; Wang Hung-wen, elevated by Mao to the post of second party vice-chairman at the Tenth Party Congress in 1973; Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, chief army political commissar and Mao's principal lieutenant in the key industrial city of Shanghai during the Cultural Revolution; and Yao Wen-yuan, the director of China's communications media and the country's leading journalistic exponent of Mao's thought since 1965 (Yao is believed to be Mao's son-in-law). Mao's nephew, Mao Yuan-hsin, was also arrested.

On October 12 it was announced that Hua Kuo-feng had been appointed chairman of the Chinese Communist party, though who appointed him remained a mystery as the Central Committee had not met, and after purges and deaths only twelve members remained of the twenty-one-member Politburo elected three years before.

### 'Gang of four'

Beginning October 15, before the press had reported the arrests or offered any explanation of them, party-organized demonstrations began in cities across the country to condemn the "gang of four" for their "towering crimes," which remained unspecified. In the week that followed, some 50 million people took part in these rallies, which were marked by a festive spirit and a general mood of jubilation at the fall of the "four dogs."

The official accusations were revealed in stages. The first step was to establish a lynch-mob atmosphere, under slogans such as "Crush the heads of the four dogs," and "Crush and strangle the gang of four." Next came character assassination, with repeated press references to the four as "maggots" and "dog turds." At the end of October the four were charged with seeking "to usurp party and state power," but no details were offered. On October 24, the Peking papers declared a general anathema on Mao's colleagues:

"Wang, Chang, Chiang and Yao are typical representatives of the bourgeoisie in the party. Their coming to power would mean the coming to power of the bourgeoisie, of revisionists and fascists and would mean the restoration of capitalism in China."

But the four *had* been in power, as Mao's agents, for the last decade. Were these charges intended to be understood to apply to Mao also? The new regime has insisted that this is not the case, and that Hua is the loyal executor of Mao's legacy. But in the name of defending Mao from his wife and friends, Hua's government turned in mid-November to an indictment of the "gang of four" for the *policies* they have carried out since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. Since almost without exception the prominent figures in Hua's camp were themselves either purged or attacked as



Demonstrators at Tien An Men Square

"capitalist-roaders" in the Cultural Revolution, this can hardly be seen as anything short of a repudiation of the line of the last decade, if not yet of "Maoism."

### Issues in the purge

In the campaign against Teng Hsiao-p'ing at the beginning of the year, he was accused by Mao and his coterie of "an attempt to induce the masses and cadres to busy themselves in production and in their professional work to the point of forgetting class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat" (*People's Daily*, February 18). The main slogan of the anti-Teng campaign was to prevent a "right-deviationist attempt to reverse the verdicts of the Cultural Revolution."

In mid-November the "gang of four" was accused of sabotaging the economy by substituting "empty revolutionary slogans" for serious economic construction, of having for years persecuted and removed from office skilled administrators, of wasting workers' time with denunciation campaigns, of suppressing divergent views in literature and art, and of opposing large-scale importations of foreign technology in the name of "self-reliance." The November 14 *People's Daily* summed it up this way: "The 'gang of four' advocated metaphysics frantically. . . they opposed revolution to production, politics to economy, class struggle to the struggle for production, and the dictatorship of the proletariat to socialist construction. They were against promoting production and construction."

These were not accusations relating to the period of Mao's final illness, or to conspiratorial activities after his death. Behind the "gang of four," there stood the shadow of Mao Tsetung.

The key to this seemingly arcane dispute between bureaucratic factions over the relative priority to be given to "class struggle" and "production" is to be found in the performance of the

Chinese economy and the growing challenge from the Chinese masses to the privileged status of their bureaucratic overlords.

At issue are two conflicting strategies for the utopian goal of building a self-sufficient industrial economy in backward China in isolation from the rest of the world. Both sides reject the prospect of worldwide revolution, including in the industrially advanced countries, as well as the perspective of an international socialist society. Their prime concern is to retain the power and privileges of the bureaucratic caste they represent.

Rejecting the prospect of revolution in the industrially advanced nations, which could provide the technological aid China needs to build its economy, the bureaucracy has evolved two equally nonmaterialist and unworkable "solutions" to the problem of development: Mao's, which goes back to the position of Chinese ruling-class traditionalists of the nineteenth century, is to shut out the world as Japan once did and rely entirely on China's own limited resources. And that of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Hua, and formerly Liu Shao-ch'i, which aims at persuading the capitalist West to supply the technology to build "socialism" in China.

### Privileged bureaucracy

Domestically, the bureaucracy as a whole faces a continual threat from the Chinese working class. It needs by one means or another to defuse mass anger at the great disparity in living standards between ordinary workers and high government officials. In a rare admission before his fall, Teng Hsiao-p'ing revealed last year that he and some 100 other top government officials have salaries of 400 yuan a month (1 yuan equals US\$52) plus expense accounts, while an average factory worker earns 60 yuan. An unskilled worker or a peasant earns only 30 yuan a month. The bureaucratic tops thus are paid thirteen times as much as the average pay of the great majority of the population, not even counting their expense accounts, special stores, and fringe benefits.

This kind of inequality is explosive, particularly if in addition the masses

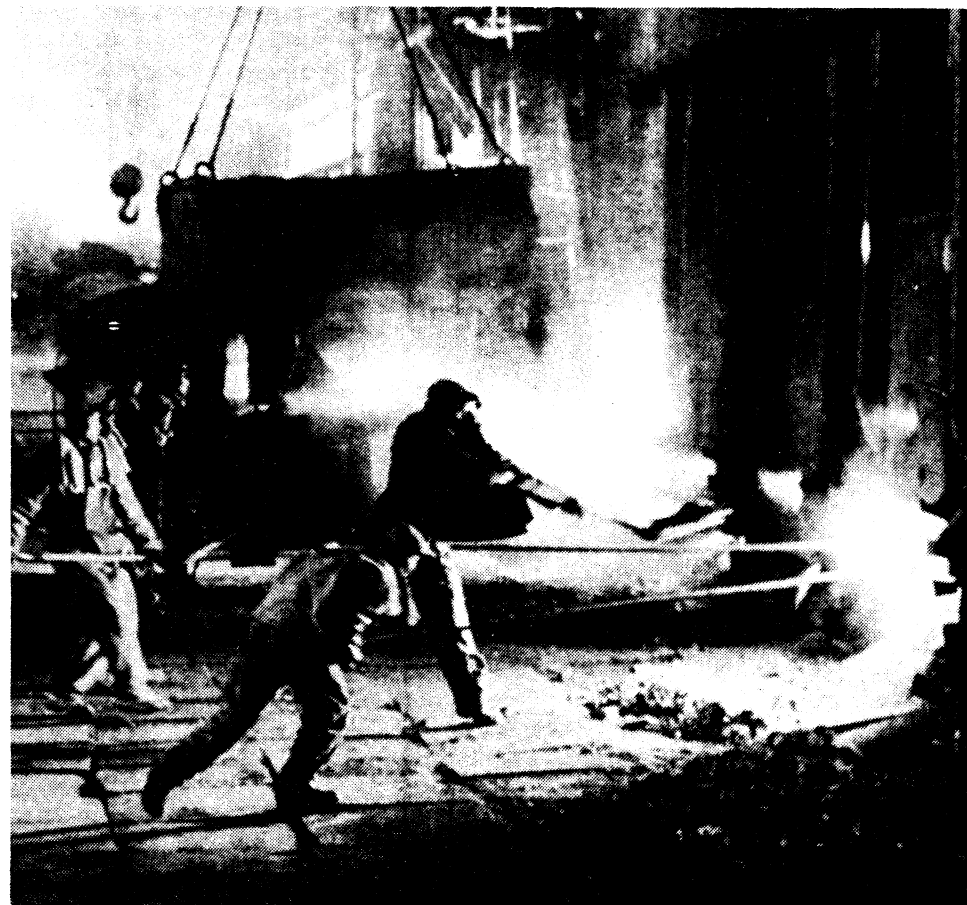
see no improvement in their standard of living. Mao's strategy, developed in the Great Leap Forward of 1958-59 and in the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69, sought to meet this challenge by rejecting concessions to the masses and by subordinating industrial growth to firm party ideological and police controls over them. In this effort Mao drew heavily on the reactionary antiurban, anti-intellectual ideology of the old ruling class, which still found echoes among the more backward sectors of the peasantry.

### Arbiter

After the Cultural Revolution, the veteran party bureaucrats did not overtly challenge Mao's peculiarly "Chinese" adaptation of Stalinism while he lived. Like Stalin he remained the dictatorial arbiter of the bureaucracy as a whole and its symbol of centralized power. But the economy he bequeathed to his heirs was in trouble, and these men, largely trained in the Soviet Union or by Soviet economic advisers in the 1950s, are now dismantling Mao's projects and turning back to an economic policy more closely modeled on that of the Soviet Union. This policy, of course, has been denounced by Mao and by Maoists around the world for a decade as "capitalism." But this was never a serious "theory" anyway, merely an epithet.

A few figures will give an indication of the gravity of the situation Hua now faces.\* Between 1949 and 1960, China's economy grew at a rate of some 22 percent a year. Chou's claim of a 10 percent annual growth rate for 1964-74 is probably true, but highly mislead-

\* The statistics used in this section come entirely from Chinese government sources. The figures for industrial output and growth for the period 1949-60 come from the State Statistical Bureau pamphlet *Ten Great Years: Statistics of the Economic and Cultural Achievements of the People's Republic of China* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1960). No comprehensive statistics have been published in China since 1960. Selected output totals and growth rates have been revealed in occasional articles in *Hsinhua*, the government press service, since 1971.



CHINESE STEEL MILL: 1975 Chinese steel output was below 1973 level.



## ...Africa

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ing. Much of this "growth" was merely recovery from the disastrous declines in production in the aftermath of the Great Leap. For example, steel production in 1960 reached 18.7 million tons, according to the official figures, which were scaled down from previous higher claims. This key economic indicator did not come close to this level again until 1970, a decade later, when steel production got back up to 17.8 million tons. It hit 25.5 million tons in 1973, but instead of growing in 1974, fell back to 23.8 million tons, a 7 percent decline. In 1975, steel output was still below the 1973 level.

Coal production, which reached 280 million tons in 1960, was 430 million tons in 1975, fifteen years later, about a 3 percent a year overall increase. In the meantime, population had grown from 650 million to 800 million, so that on a per capita basis growth has been minimal.

In agriculture, Chou En-lai at the 1975 People's Congress claimed a 4 percent a year growth for the whole period since liberation, compared to a 2 percent a year growth in population. This is a slim margin. But his figures use 1949 as a base figure, a year of civil war when farming was disrupted. A more accurate figure is to compare the 1957 harvest of 185 million tons of grain to the 1975 harvest, a record high of 280 million. The increase is only 3 percent a year, providing a margin only half of Chou's claim.

### Education

Two special sore points for the bureaucracy are Mao's wage freeze and his cutbacks in education, both highly unpopular measures. In the first decade of the People's Republic, according to a report by Chou En-lai in 1959, wages for factory workers more than doubled. But in China today, wages have been frozen since 1965, almost twelve years, the whole working lifetime of millions of young workers. And frozen with the wages is the inegalitarian wage structure. (Actually, the Cultural Revolution brought a wage cut in the form of eliminating bonuses that were a regular part of workers' income. The rough amount of the bonuses was restored as wage "raises" in 1971-73, bringing wages back up to the 1965 level.)

The second area is even more dramatic. According to official statistics, college enrollment in China in 1958-59 was 660,000. It rose to 900,000 in 1960-61. This is still a tiny number in China's vast population. But figures released by the Chinese press at the beginning of this year reveal that after a decade of Mao's Cultural Revolution, college enrollment today is only 500,000, the level of twenty years ago.

On top of this is the festering sore of the 12 million educated young people and intellectuals forcibly deported to the countryside. This is both a form of disguised unemployment and, for many, a form of punitive exile from the volatile cities.

As the year closed an uneasy regime sought to get the economy back on the rails, promising a long-suffering population an end to some of the worst features of Mao's rule. Undoubtedly Hua will have a certain period of grace. But a return to the Soviet government's pattern of "material incentives" and priority on production quotas instead of agitational speeches will neither meet the expectations of the Chinese masses nor miraculously permit the construction of "socialism in one country" within the borders of backward China. Hua's hope that Washington will come to his aid in exchange for help in opposing revolutions in the colonial world is equally unfounded.

mand, among other things, the release of Black political prisoners. About 70-80 percent of Soweto's 320,000 workers joined the strike, crippling most economic activity in Johannesburg for three days.

The second general strike, staged September 13-15, was even more successful. The response of the Soweto workers was as enthusiastic as during the August strike.

The strike spread to the Black townships of Alexandra and Thembisa, also near Johannesburg, as well as to Cape Town, where Coloureds form the majority of the working class. According to the Cape Chamber of Industries, the strike in Cape Town was 50 percent effective, although in some parts of the city up to 90 percent of the workers stayed away.

The two general strikes called by the Soweto students showed that it is possible, given mass support, to organize open actions against the regime despite the constant repression. Although most of the known Black leaders were jailed, a new layer of young militants, many of them unknown to the police, were able to take the lead and strike a serious blow at the apartheid regime.

As a result of its role in organizing the protests, the SRC has become a powerful political force in Soweto. In a

November 18 dispatch from Johannesburg, *New York Times* correspondent John F. Burns referred to the SRC as being "almost a shadow government."

The success of the general strikes and the ability of Black youths to continue organizing protests has heightened the confidence and militancy of the Black population as a whole. The strike, moreover, demonstrated the political power of the Black working class, now more than 7 million strong.

The Black protests that have rocked the country for months are a milestone in the South African freedom struggle. They mark the beginning of a new—and massive—stage in the long fight to overthrow the hated system of apartheid.

Given the social weight of the Black working class, the high level of industrialization, and the central role that national oppression plays in the capitalist economy, the prospects for this struggle flowing over into a socialist revolution are great.

### U.S. role

The mass Black protests in South Africa and the likelihood of even greater ferment in the future have American financiers and government strategists extremely worried. Washington has an important stake in the maintenance of white minority rule in South Africa.

More than 300 American companies have about \$1.6 billion directly invested in South African industries. Indirect American investments in South Africa,

mostly in the form of bank loans to private and government-run companies, now surpass \$2 billion.

Nonmilitary exports to South Africa from the United States totaled \$1.3 billion in 1975, while imports stood at about half a billion dollars and are rapidly rising. The United States is now Pretoria's third largest trading partner.

South Africa, moreover, produces 60 percent of the capitalist world's gold supply and has many scarce minerals considered of strategic value by Washington. The country also occupies a key position overlooking the vital shipping route around the Cape of Good Hope.

To protect these interests and to prop up the Vorster regime, millions of dollars worth of American aircraft and other equipment suitable for military purposes was sold to Pretoria.

With the rise in the freedom struggle in southern Africa during the past year, Washington has stepped up its support to the Vorster regime on the political level as well.

Kissinger's "shuttle diplomacy" is designed to defuse the struggle in Namibia and Zimbabwe in order to buy time for white minority rule in South Africa itself. In addition, Kissinger's visit to South Africa in September was an immediate political boost for the Vorster regime, strengthening its diplomatic position internationally and allowing it to show South Africa's Black masses that it has powerful allies.

## ...W. Europe

Continued from page 23

just to gain a better bargaining position for itself in governmental negotiations. It did not propose any real governmental alternative.

The Stalinists' problem was different. They sought to minimize their gains in the elections, so as not to frighten the bourgeoisie. They achieved this objective. However, the bourgeois parties could not achieve an effective majority without the tacit support of the CP. This relationship came to be known as the "popular front in the corridors."

Before announcing austerity measures on October 1, Premier Giulio Andreotti consulted with top CP economists. The CP, however, was unable to prevent a wave of spontaneous strikes against these steps.

Opposition developed in CP ranks and became so extensive that it was voiced in a muted way by Luigi Longo, the traditional loyal left face of the party leadership.

The Italian and international press began to note that it was becoming possible to see discussions develop in the CP. It began to look as if the "democratic" turn of the CP, its so-called Euro-Communism, was beginning to weaken the Stalinist regime in the party itself.

### France

In nearly all the Mediterranean countries where the bourgeoisie has long been politically weak, the old reformist workers parties have experienced rapid growth. In 1976, the French CP increased its numbers by more than 100,000. It also carried out a very rapid facelifting.

The French CP, previously considered the most hidebound of the mass CPs, abruptly took a turn to making criticisms of the violation of democratic rights in the Soviet bloc.

In one major area, however, the CP remained inflexible. In 1976, the ques-

tion of the oppressed nationalities in France emerged with considerable force. This was exemplified, above all, by island-wide general strikes in Corsica. But the CP remained resolutely a French patriotic party, devoted to the unity of France.

Throughout this year, an attitude of waiting has dominated the mass movement in France. The workers are hoping for an electoral victory of the popular-front-type coalition of the SP, the CP, and bourgeois liberals to offer better conditions for their struggles. This coalition, the Union of the Left, has shown that it intends to come to the rescue of capitalism in France, like the reformist parties in other Mediterranean countries.

In Northern Europe, the reformist parties have played their role in a different way. At the onset of the economic crisis, SPs controlled most governments. The fact that these parties failed to protect the workers from the effects of the crisis, or even carried out austerity policies on behalf of the bourgeoisie, has led to disillusion among the masses. The result has been a series of gains for the bourgeois parties.

### Great Britain

This is particularly true in the case of Great Britain, where the Labour party has carried out a massive attack on workers' living standards by cutting social spending to the bone and refusing to allow wage increases sufficient to compensate for inflation. The erosion of support for the Labour party has been compounded by the growth of nationalist movements in the smaller nationalities incorporated into the English state, with the result that the party has continued to lose ground to both the Conservative party and the Welsh and Scottish nationalists.

In Sweden, the Social Democratic party lost control of the government for the first time in forty-four years. It lost by a narrow margin.

In West Germany, the SP-liberal government of Helmut Schmidt suffered serious losses, although not enough to force its resignation. But the bourgeoisie Christian Democrats, unlike the right-wing SP leadership, set

their sights beyond this election. They ran a violently reactionary campaign against all forms of "collectivism," including extensive social welfare programs. This was coupled with furious red-baiting not only against the CP and new left groups but against the left wing of the Social Democracy itself. The thrust of this campaign was to strengthen repression against the left.

The SP did not combat this offensive, but responded by trying to prove how conservative it was. Schmidt went so far as to present himself as the protégé of President Ford.

### Democratic rights

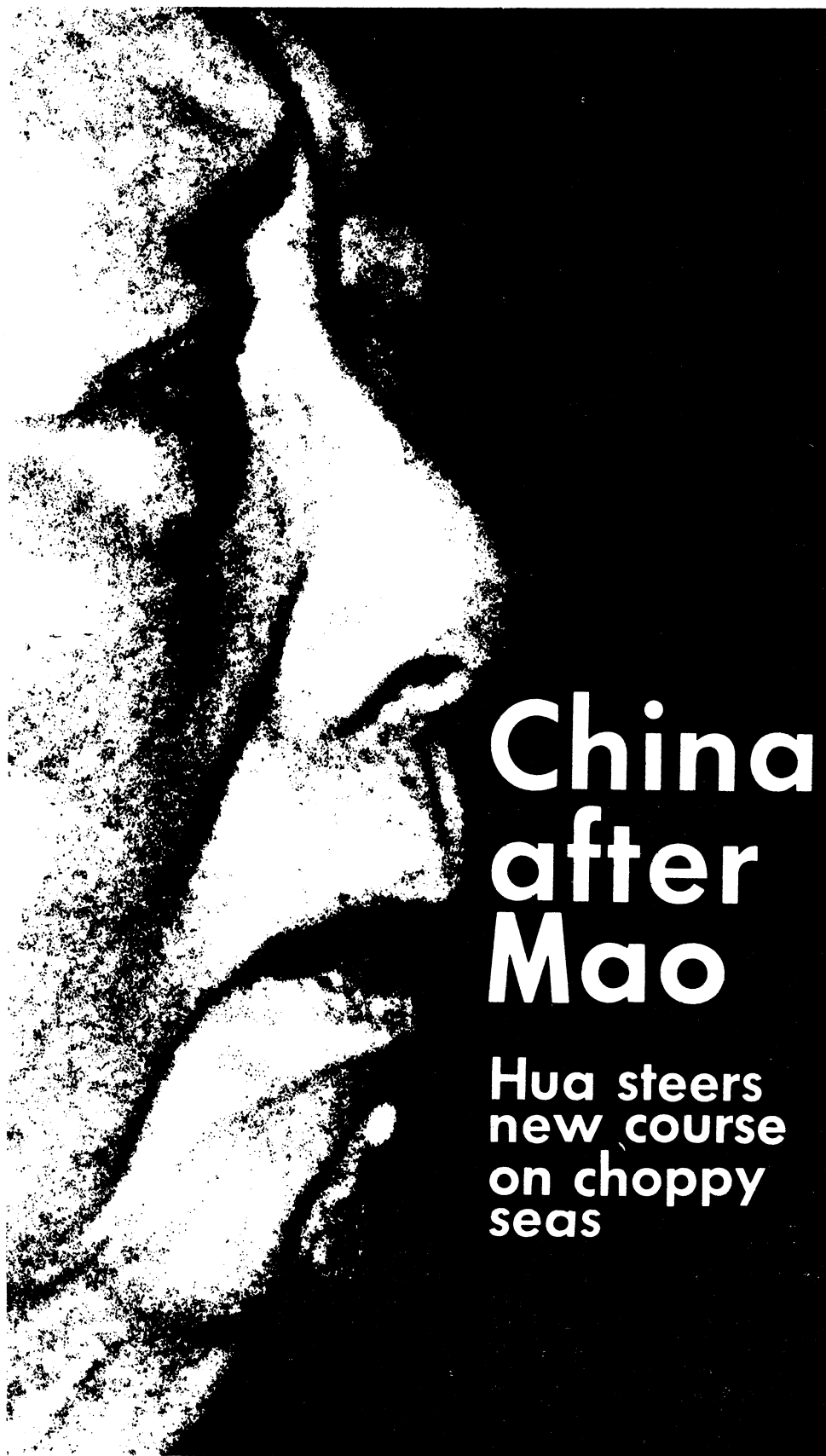
In most countries in 1976, attacks on democratic rights increased. These included an agreement by the Council of Europe to abolish the right of asylum in some cases, extensive political blacklisting in Germany, and passage of laws in Greece restricting the rights of trade-union organization and permitting the government to exile political offenders to remote areas of the country.

However, one of the features of the radicalization in the old capitalist centers of Europe is that in none of the hotspots that erupted in the late 1960s and early 1970s has the bourgeoisie decisively reversed the radicalization.

Relatively, the worst setbacks have come in Ireland, because of the weakness of the country vis-à-vis imperialism and the political weaknesses of the traditional nationalist organizations. In 1972, the mass movement in Ireland went into decline. By 1976, it had reached rock bottom. Disillusion with a continuing guerrilla war without perspectives enabled bourgeois figures to create a movement for peace at any cost.

However, the economic decline has begun to undermine the antinationalist coalition government in Dublin. Broad opposition has developed for the first time to new repressive legislation. The attempt to introduce the death penalty for political crimes has been beaten back by the international campaign in defense of the Murrys, the young couple the bourgeoisie selected as a test case.





## China after Mao

Hua steers new course on choppy seas

By Les Evans

Nineteen seventy-six was a year of almost dizzying changes and convulsions in China. In twelve months' time, the three top leaders of the country disappeared from the scene: Premier Chou En-lai, Marshal Chu Te, and finally Mao Tsetung himself. Teng Hsiao-p'ing rose to new prominence and power, was cast back into the depths for a second time in a decade, but by year's end had the satisfaction of seeing those who had accused him purged in turn. Within weeks of Mao's death, the infallible chairman's closest associates were in jail and many of the policies that bore his name were under sweeping attack—all in the name of Mao Tsetung Thought.

These dramatic shifts at the top unfolded against a background of economic stagnation, mounting labor discontent, and the eruption of the first mass antigovernment demonstrations in the twenty-seven-year history of the People's Republic of China.

### 'Self-reliance'

The New Year's editorial, run jointly by the Peking *People's Daily*, *Red Flag*, and the *Liberation Army Daily*, summed up the Maoist line of the last decade. Its themes provide a useful yardstick to measure the extent of the policy changes after the tyrant's death.

The editorial asserted that "the

principal contradiction in socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie." This was the slogan advanced by Mao during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s to brand his opponents in the party leadership and dissenters among the masses as "class enemies."

The "revolution in literature and art" under the direction of Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's wife, was hailed as having "resulted in an efflorescence of creative work."

On economic construction, the editorial reaffirmed Mao's line that human will power, under tight party control, was the principal productive force and could substitute for technology or the extension of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country," it said, quoting Mao. It added that "socialism" should be built "independently and with the initiative in our own hands, through self-reliance."

The editorial also announced the beginning of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. After Mao's death, however, it was revealed that the plan drafted under Mao's auspices had been scrapped. Now, a year after the plan was to have begun, no targets have yet been announced.

On January 8, Chou En-lai, the

country's premier since the founding of the People's Republic, died of cancer in Peking at the age of seventy-eight. His eulogy was delivered by Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who had been acting premier during the last year of Chou's illness and was expected to succeed him as head of government. But on February 7, in the first public sign that Teng was in trouble with Mao, the government made the surprise announcement that Hua Kuo-feng and not Teng had been appointed premier.

At the beginning of the year, Hua was an obscure bureaucrat, only recently elevated to the post of head of the secret police after a career as a provincial administrator. His main qualification seemed to be his zeal in helping Mao root out Lin Piao's followers in the purge of 1971-72. Chosen for his loyalty to the chairman, his first act after Mao's death would be to jail Mao's widow and close associates.

On February 21, in one of the more bizarre episodes of a year filled with extraordinary twists and turns, a Chinese aircraft was permitted to land in California, where it picked up former President Richard Nixon and carried him to Peking. There the despised war criminal and chief of the Watergate burglars, who had been driven in disgrace from the White House, was accorded a triumphal welcome. At the time, there was much ironic comment in the press at the fact that Nixon's last friend in the world should prove to be Mao Tsetung.

### Teng Hsiao-p'ing

The death of Chou precipitated a new purge in the leadership of the Chinese CP. Chou had been instrumental in persuading Mao to "rehabilitate" many of the veteran party bureaucrats and administrators disgraced in the Cultural Revolution and accused of seeking the "restoration of capitalism." Most prominent of these was Teng Hsiao-p'ing, former party general secretary and Liu Shao-ch'i's chief lieutenant, who had been labeled "China's Khrushchev Number Two" in 1966 and stripped of his party posts. Teng was returned to office in 1973. At the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975, he was given the concurrent posts of vice-premier of the government, vice-chairman of the CCP, and chief of staff of the armed forces.

Declining economic growth in two consecutive years—1973-74—evidently led Chou and Teng to raise some criticisms of Mao's economic strategy in the secret inner councils of the party. At the Fourth National People's Congress in 1975 Chou had projected the slogan of the "Four Modernizations," in agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. He claimed a growth rate of 10 percent a year for the decade 1964-74 and projected the building of a "relatively comprehensive industrial and economic system" by 1980. While raising the hope of future successes, Chou did not mention that growth had in fact fallen to 7.5 percent in 1973 and dropped to 7 percent in 1974, with some key sectors such as steel completely stagnant with no growth at all.

The "Four Modernizations" was widely taken by the Chinese masses as a promise of improvement in their living standards, frozen since the beginning of the Cultural Revolution a decade earlier.

The revolution of rising expectations among the working class exploded in a general strike in the industrial city of Hangchow in the summer of 1975, which was quelled by 10,000 troops of the People's Liberation Army.

After Chou's death, the slogan of modernization came under direct at-

tack by Mao, and Teng was singled out as its surviving proponent.

Teng was accused of seeking large-scale imports of Western technology, criticizing the massive cutbacks in education, opposing the deportation of youth to the countryside, favoring wage raises and material incentives to revive the sluggish economy, proposing the technical modernization of the army, and disparaging the rigid censorship in art and literature by Chiang Ch'ing.

Teng was never permitted to state his own views, but the program attributed to him, and by implication to Chou, seemed to promise the masses some improvement over the state of affairs under Mao. As a result, the campaign against Teng backfired.

### Tien An Men demonstration

The workers and students of Peking took the occasion of the annual Ching Ming festival at the beginning of April, the traditional period for honoring the dead, to gather in Tien An Men Square to bring wreaths and poems in memory of Chou En-lai. Thousands of people gathered in the square daily, beginning April 1. On April 4, in a crowd of tens of thousands, banners were raised attacking Chiang Ch'ing as a new "Dowager Empress" and a Chinese Indira Gandhi. Plainclothes cops were beaten when they tried to arrest impromptu orators who addressed the crowd.

On April 5, the government gave the order to remove the wreaths and posters. An angry crowd gathered that swelled at its height to more than 100,000. The demonstrators held the square throughout the day, battling police and militia, burning official vehicles, and even invading a militia barracks on the square and razing it to the ground.

After dark, tens of thousands of troops were assembled around Tien An Men and the last of the demonstrators—said to number 3,000—were assaulted with clubs and rifle butts and arrested. The Peking press reported that a "public trial" was held in mid-May at which two participants were sentenced to death and three received terms of thirty years at hard labor.

On April 7, Teng Hsiao-p'ing was summarily stripped of all his government and party posts and denounced as a "capitalist restorationist," although he was not accused of having organized the protests. In the weeks that followed, the regime mobilized the whole of its repressive forces for a house-to-house interrogation of the entire population of the city, in which hundreds of people were arrested for having participated in the demonstration.

Similar protests were reported, though on a smaller scale, in cities throughout China. The regime retaliated with arrests and with staged counterdemonstrations, though these were unusually small and dispirited events.

### The death of Mao

Throughout the summer the Chinese press sought to prepare the country for the imminent death of Mao. The chairman stopped receiving foreign visitors, and photographs were published showing him more and more enfeebled. His death came on September 9. It became the occasion for an unprecedented outpouring of messages of condolence from world imperialism and from a host of military dictatorships around the globe. Foreign Maoists eulogized the dictator in the most extravagant terms.

The mourners, as reported by Peking, included the shah of Iran, Indira Gandhi, President Marcos of the Philippines, the king of fascist Spain, and

*Continued on page 24*

# In Review

## 1950: A dream play



1950: A Dream Play About the Cold War. Written by Steve Friedman. Directed by Denny Partridge. Produced by the Theater at St. Clements in New York City.

Remember the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 when we thought World War III was really about to begin? Remember air-raid drills in school?

## Theater

1950: A Dream Play about the Cold War begins with one of those drills, children filing down into a dim, dirty school basement.

But this is not a real 1950 air-raid drill. It is the recurring, tortured nightmare of thirty-four-year-old John Bonte. Every month of his adult life Bonte dreams that he is back with his

second-grade class going through the air-raid drill—a drill he knows will end in an atomic attack.

Characters and episodes melt into each other, producing a nightmare collage of the '50s: James V. Forrestal, architect of the cold war, who went crazy, chewed off his lips, and killed himself; the tragedy of jazz-genius Charlie Parker and the suppression of Black music; and, above all, the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

In John Bonte's nightmare the nasty kid in the Boy Scout uniform becomes a screaming parrot in a 1950s jazz club and emerges as David Greenglass, the man who lied and sent his sister Ethel Rosenberg to the electric chair.

The elementary school's two Black janitors in the air-raid shelter are at the same time Albert Einstein and Charlie Parker.

"Political drama" can be lousy, little more than dramatized readings of political tracts. But 1950 succeeds.

Author Steve Friedman and director Denny Partridge effectively draw the audience into the play. Their humor is right on the mark and their symbols don't hit the audience over the head to attract attention.

1950 succeeds mainly because the audience has the sensation of recognizing themselves.

In some recent nostalgia movies, *American Graffiti* for instance, the audience can recognize what they wore a few years back. But in 1950 they can recognize who they were.

The classmates in John Bonte's bomb shelter are just like second-grade classmates everywhere. There's the weird skinny girl, the scared and guilty Catholic school kid, the obnoxious self-hating goody-goody.

This multifaceted nightmare manages to weave in themes of women's oppression, alienation, relativity.

But the climax, which puts everything in focus, is the trial and execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The play uses transcripts of the 1951 "atomic spy" trial, quotations from J. Edgar Hoover, and poetry written by Ethel Rosenberg in the death house. It's no wonder this part of the nightmare seems so real.

By building up to the Rosenberg trial, the play sidesteps the trap of sentimentality. Instead of beginning with the Rosenbergs and trying to generalize from their plight, the trial and execution cap off all the other experiences of the 1950s. In that context, the audience itself grasps the significance of the Rosenberg case instead of being awkwardly lectured about its importance.

1950 is also, not unimportantly, a welcome contribution to the efforts of the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, to get out the truth about their parents' case. Not only does the play stage the facts, it dramatizes why the case is so important.

Reopening the Rosenberg case can do more than vindicate the two main victims. Recovering the truth about the Rosenbergs, the play reminds us, can help remove a malignancy from our history. Recognizing the truth can finish off the nightmare.

The only problem with the play is that it had such a short run in New York and is not yet scheduled to tour other cities. 1950 is a good history lesson and, even better, a good drama.

—Diane Wang

## Kaufman squirms

Judge Irving Kaufman, the man who presided over the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, hates plays about that witch-hunt case.

A play about the Rosenbergs written by Donald Freed was produced in Cleveland in 1969. Kaufman was so upset about the play and its reviews in the *New York Times* that he called his friend FBI chief Edgar Hoover.

An FBI memo made public through the lawsuit to open all the government files on the Rosenbergs tells how the G-men moved into action:

The play "was observed by an Agent of the Cleveland Office and he noted it assumes the innocence of the Rosenbergs. . .," says the FBI memo.

"No identifiable derogatory information on Tarrant [the play's director] or any of the actors or actresses in Cleveland, New York, or Bureau files.

"There is attached a letter to the Attorney General furnishing him with information concerning this play and its anti-Government slant," the note concludes.

Government memos like this from the government's twenty-five-year effort to keep the Rosenberg case hushed up are collected in *The Kaufman Papers*. The booklet is available for \$1.50 from the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, Room 606, 250 West Fifty-Seventh Street, New York, New York 10019.

—D.W.

## Lucy Parsons—American radical



Lucy Parsons American Revolutionary by Carolyn Ashbaugh. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co., 1976. 288 pp. \$3.95 paper.

Carolyn Ashbaugh has taken an important character of American labor history out from under the cobwebs of neglect. She has written a definitive biography, portraying one of the foremost revolutionists the American working-class movement has yet to produce—Lucy Parsons.

The book is more than simply a biography. It provides a general history of the radical movement in America from the 1870s to 1942. During this period Lucy Parsons was a fighter in the struggle for women's rights, free speech, and socialist revolution.

## Books

Carolyn Ashbaugh states in the preface to her book, "Lucy Parsons was black,\* a woman, and working class—three reasons people are often excluded from history." For the socialist of today these are three good reasons for reading this new book.

The book begins with Lucy's experiences in Reconstruction Texas with her white, Radical Republican companion, Albert Parsons. Ashbaugh recounts the racial prejudice the pair had

to face for being in love in racist America.

Both Lucy and Albert were to become socialists in Chicago and later revolutionary anarchists. For these crimes of free thought, Albert paid the price of his life. He was framed up and hanged in the aftermath of the Chicago Haymarket cop riot of 1886.

Lucy paid another price, that of having to raise two young children in a hostile environment where their mother was constantly harassed and occasionally beaten by the police. The story that Carolyn Ashbaugh tells is often as sad as it is inspiring.

Lucy Parsons considered herself an anarchist, an anarcho-syndicalist, and a communist at different points in her life, which caused anarchist Emma Goldman to denounce her as an opportunist.

But, as Ashbaugh points out, there was a consistency in Lucy Parsons's political life: "her first concern was for the foreign born, the hungry, and the unemployed. She always looked at her work from a working class perspective and analyzed society in terms of class struggle."

Ashbaugh also deals at some length with the various currents in radical feminism that existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She takes up extensively the debate between Lucy Parsons and Emma Goldman on women's oppression. This debate centered around the

relation of the struggle for women's liberation to class society, the nature and role of the family, and the movement for "free love."

Lucy Parsons's long political career extended through several generations of American revolutionaries. She was a close friend and co-worker of revolutionary leaders such as Eugene Debs, Bill Haywood, and Peter Kropotkin.

In the 1920s she worked with James P. Cannon—later to become one of the founders of American Trotskyism—on the building of the International Labor Defense, which mobilized support for Sacco and Vanzetti and other victims of capitalist repression.

Ashbaugh overlooks some of the theoretical deficiencies that led Parsons to adhere to anarchism and—at the very end of her life—to the Stalinized Communist party. On the whole, however, Ashbaugh has written a well-balanced and a highly readable book.

—R.D. Estvan

\*Other sources, however, claim that Lucy Parsons was a Chicana. In Albert Parsons's autobiography, he refers to Lucy as being "Spanish-Indian." In the chapter notes to her book, Ashbaugh writes that "although the Parsons family denied publicly that Lucy was black, Katharine Parsons Russell suggested (1976) that the family privately considered Lucy Parsons black. Photos of Lucy are proof of her black ancestry. . . . Lucy identified herself as Native American and Chicana in an effort to cover up her black heritage." Ashbaugh notes that Parsons's "denial of her black heritage is a terrible indictment of the racist society which made her feel compelled to do so."—*Militant*

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Despite its sanctimonious condemnation of terrorism, the U.S. government nurtures and harbors the most ruthless band of assassins anywhere—a Miami-based group of right-wing Cuban exiles.

The crash of a sabotaged Cuban airliner October 6—murdering seventy-three people—thrust these terrorists into the public spotlight.

A few weeks before, on September 21, Orlando Letelier's car exploded on a Washington street, killing him and a co-worker Ronni Moffitt. Letelier was the Chilean ambassador to the United States under Salvador Allende and an outspoken foe of the Pinochet dictatorship.

Two right-wing Cuban groups in Miami claimed credit for the plane crash. Several Cuban exiles in Venezuela were arrested when a raid produced evidence linking them to both crimes.

During the last two years, there were 100 bombings in Miami alone. The assassins have spread their terror throughout the United States and into other countries, including Mexico, Barbados, Jamaica, Panama and, of course, Cuba.

In February 1976 a Soviet freighter off Cuba's coast was raked with heavy machine-gun fire. In April two Cuban fishing boats were attacked and a fisherman killed. During the same month a bomb exploded in the Cuban embassy in Lisbon, Portugal, killing two.

The attacks had intensified after the 1973 antihijacking pact between the United States and Cuba. As part of the agreement, the United States pledged to crack down on the right-wing terrorists. Needless to say, that didn't happen.

After the October airliner crash, Fidel Castro announced Cuba would not renew the pact, which expires April 15. He charged CIA complicity in the seventy-three deaths.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger warned that Cuba would be held "strictly accountable for an encouragement of hijacking and any act of terrorism that may flow from its renunciation of the treaty."

Asked what the United States was doing about the airliner crash, Kissinger answered, "We've asked the CIA to check into it."

### 'Highly trained assassins'

"The Cuban terrorists are the most highly trained assassins in the world today," says a U.S. official quoted in *U.S. News & World Report* December 6.

That's because the right-wing assassins were trained by the world's most technically advanced secret-police force—the CIA. And therein lies the reason not only for the exiles' expertise, but also for why they can bomb, murder, and main with virtual impunity.

In 1961 President John Kennedy trained 1,300 Cuban exiles and launched an invasion of Cuba. The defeat his crew suffered at the Bay of Pigs forced Kennedy to change tactics.

He assigned his brother Robert to supervise future operations, and the secret war against Cuba was on. To the Cuban rightists, it was the "irregular war"; in CIA parlance, "Operation Mongoose."

In December 1962 when Cuba returned the Bay of Pigs survivors, Kennedy flew to Miami to accord them a heroes' welcome. The flag of the "brigade" was offered him, and Kennedy promised, "I can assure that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana."

It cost American taxpayers \$100 million a year for the next several years. The CIA station in Miami—the command post for anti-Castro operations worldwide—spent more than \$50 million yearly.

The station employed 300 Americans who in turn controlled thousands of Cuban agents. The CIA subsidized all right-wing enterprises in the Cuban exile community.

# WASHINGTON'S TERRORIST INTERNATIONAL

## The history of U.S. support to Cuban exile assassins



Chilean exile Orlando Letelier (inset) was murdered in Washington, D.C., car bombing last September. Evidence links CIA-trained hit squads to the assassination.

"If an anti-Castro guy started up a weekly paper, we'd give him some money and help him get the rag on the street," recalls a former high CIA official. "The end result of this was that you had the whole community monitored."

Between the spring of 1961 and the spring of 1963, the CIA tried to assassinate Castro at least six times.

"The confused maze of anti-Castro activity in South Florida during the secret war included everything from officially organized, elaborate CIA teams to impromptu groups of zealous students seeking to make a name for themselves," wrote Taylor Branch and George Crile in a 1975 *Harper's* story.

No matter who or what, all anti-

Castro activities were encouraged by the CIA.

It is this monster created by the CIA that bombs and murders today—all in the name of a "Cuba libre."

But can it be said that the apparatus "took on a life of its own," as the *Washington Post* recently editorialized, even though the United States government "turned the switch"?

Did the government's aid to these terrorists end with the unsuccessful Operation Mongoose?

"The CIA surely has good files on the terrorists, most of whom are American citizens," says the *Post* in proposing a solution. "The FBI, which is responsible for investigating their many activities in Miami, also must have information."

But it is just this course—opening the files on the sordid history of official anti-Cuban activity—that the U.S. government vigorously resists.

When Palestinian terrorists attacked the Munich Olympic Games in 1972, a "concerned" President Nixon appointed a cabinet-level committee on terrorism. It has never studied the Miami-based assassins.

The 1975 Rockefeller commission on the CIA never touched any activities of the gigantic Miami station.

"Terrorists are protected by a web of old loyalties. Most of them worked at one time or another for the U.S. government. Many have had several roles; members of the U.S. Army, CIA operatives and FBI informants," reports *U.S. News & World Report*.

## A word to Senate 'investigators'

In February 1976 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee released a report called "Trotskyite Terrorist International."

It purported to reveal criminal links between the Socialist Workers party and what the senators claimed were "terrorists" in the worldwide Trotskyist organization, the Fourth International.

The witch-hunting committee, of course, found no evidence of illegal acts by the SWP. They did come up with some "secret documents" (all of which the SWP previously published) and some allegations of sinister activities (such as the SWP's participation in the anti-Vietnam War movement).

The reality is that rather than practicing terrorism, time and again the SWP has been the victim of terrorism. All too often it was at the hands of right-wing Cuban exiles.

One of the most serious attacks

occurred in May 1970 when more than a dozen men armed with submachine guns, rifles, and pistols invaded the Los Angeles SWP headquarters. They shouted, "You will die for Fidel" and "We're going to kill you, commies."

The four SWP members present were forced to lie down. The attackers poured gasoline around and set the place on fire. The four socialists barely escaped alive.

Other groups on the left and in the labor movement also are targets of the Cuban terrorists. In July 1973 a bomb exploded in the New York headquarters of Drug and Hospital Workers Union Local 1199. The building was the site of a political and cultural exposition on Cuba.

An April 1973 conference on Puerto Rico and the Caribbean at Queens College in New York was attacked by an anti-Castro gang, who swung

clubs and blackjacks, hurled acid, and exploded a tear-gas bomb.

Fifty right-wing exiles disrupted a March 1975 meeting for Argentine socialist Juan Carlos Coral at the University of Chicago. The meeting was sponsored by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). SWP leader Andrew Pulley was injured and required twelve stitches.

The Puerto Rican Socialist party and other proindependence groups in Puerto Rico have been the targets of scores of terrorist attacks, including arson, bombings, and assassinations.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee produces voluminous reports on "threats" to the nation. But somehow they never get around to investigating the real terrorists.

—N.C.



The CIA, so outspoken in its pursuit of purported terrorists elsewhere, reserves comment on the real Cuban exile terrorists. Nor does the agency share its vast knowledge of the rightists' network with the Miami police, who are supposedly waging a battle against the terrorists.

"We have absolutely no contact with the CIA," says the antiterrorist squad chief Lt. Thomas Lyons. "I'd like to, but they don't talk to us."

There is one investigation the CIA joined—the inquiry around Letelier's assassination. The reason apparently is to make sure that nothing too damaging is uncovered in the tepid search for his murderers.

Government officials say, according to the *Washington Post*, "that an attempt to prosecute Letelier's assassins, if they are discovered, could endanger 'national security' by disclosure of classified information."

### Orlando Bosch

Figuring prominently in any cover-up would be Orlando Bosch, the guiding light of Cuban exile terrorism, now one of those under arrest in Venezuela.

Like many right-wing exiles, Bosch racked up a string of acquittals in the United States for his terrorist crimes. In 1968, however, he was caught in the act of firing a bazooka at a Polish ship harbored in Miami.

In addition, he was charged with telegraphing threats to the governments of Mexico, England, and Spain. Bosch was sentenced to ten years in prison.

A campaign aided by Florida Gov. Claude Kirk freed him in 1972. In 1974 Bosch disappeared, communicating through periodic interviews in Miami newspapers.

"I'm going underground in a Latin American country to be able to direct the internationalization of the war," he later announced.

Since then Bosch has appeared in Venezuela, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Chile.

His efforts to "cleanse" the exile movement are reportedly responsible for the assassinations of six exile leaders in Miami.

One of his groups, Acción Cubana, sells bonds on the streets of Miami's Little Havana, redeemable upon the death of Castro. Three million dollars is set aside, Bosch says, for the person responsible for killing the Cuban leader.

This admitted terrorist is "wanted" for parole violation in this country. Yet every time it has had the chance to extradite him, the Justice Department passed it up.

For example, he was arrested in Venezuela in 1974 for two bombings he took credit for. "Justice is better served by keeping him out," the Justice Department stated in turning down an offer for extradition.

### 'Three sources'

"Cubans and others on both the left and the right insist that Bosch has backing from three sources," says the *Post*, "the CIA, the Chilean government and anti-Castro Cubans living in Caracas and in Miami."

And while there may no longer be the direct, unlimited CIA funding there once was, money doesn't seem to be a problem.

As *Time* correspondent Jay Mallin puts it, "If you don't pay, he puts a bomb outside your office. Bosch is an extortionist, not a patriot."

A Dade County, Florida, grand jury concluded that the exile groups there financed themselves "through acts of terrorism such as arson for hire and kidnapping."

It is this small band of extortionists—an estimated 300—that terrorizes Miami's Cuban community of 450,000 and tries to intimidate defenders of Cuba around the world.

They have been trained, encouraged, and protected by the U.S. government. Washington is completely responsible for their crimes.

# Chicano activist Juan Haro faces Colorado frame-up trial

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER, Colo.—Juan Haro, a leader of the Crusade for Justice here, is scheduled to go on trial January 12 on trumped-up bombing charges.

Haro, former Raza Unida party candidate for mayor of Denver, and Antonio Quintana, another Crusade activist, have been indicted on far-fetched charges of plotting to blow up four Denver police stations.

The two Chicano activists have denied the charges, labeling them a politically motivated frame-up.

The case being prepared by District Attorney Dale Tooley rests largely on the testimony of Joesph Cordova, an agent-provocateur for the Denver police department who infiltrated the Crusade.

Even cops describe Cordova as "a crook." He received official help in getting cleared of drug and theft charges. Cops also admit they promised Cordova "a new life" and "thousands and thousands of dollars" in exchange for testimony against Haro.

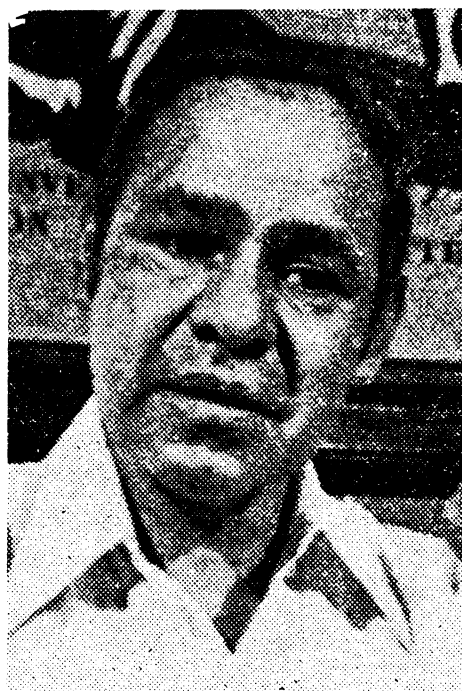
Haro and Quintana were arrested separately on the same evening in September 1975. The police say the two were on their way to carry out a bombing.

Police also claim to have found a bomb in Haro's car. Haro says this "evidence"—which is all the cops have

been able to come up with—was planted.

On December 22, just three weeks before the Haro trial was scheduled to begin, Denver cops pulled a stunt designed to prejudice the outcome of the trial.

Capt. Robert Shaughnessy of the



JUAN HARO: Says evidence was planted

bomb squad arranged to detonate a bomb similar to the one police claim they found in Haro's car. Together with federal cops, the bomb squad made a film of the explosion and say they will use it as "evidence."

Shaughnessy had said that the news media would be excluded from the detonation. The event received widespread coverage in the news media nonetheless. The *Rocky Mountain News* even carried a photo of the site, surrounded by cops, just before the blast.

The defense was not allowed to have its own experts at the scene.

Defense attorneys Stanley Marks and Ken Padilla sought to have the charges dismissed after this flagrant example of government misconduct.

Judge George McNamara of the Denver district court rejected the dismissal motion. He also rejected another motion to move the trial to Pueblo, where the defense feels there is a chance to find a less biased jury.

Instead, Haro's trial will be in Akron, a town of less than 1,800 people in eastern Colorado. The number of Chicanos in Akron can be counted on the fingers of two hands. All 150 potential jurors for Haro's trial are Anglos.

Quintana's trial date will be set after Haro's trial is over.

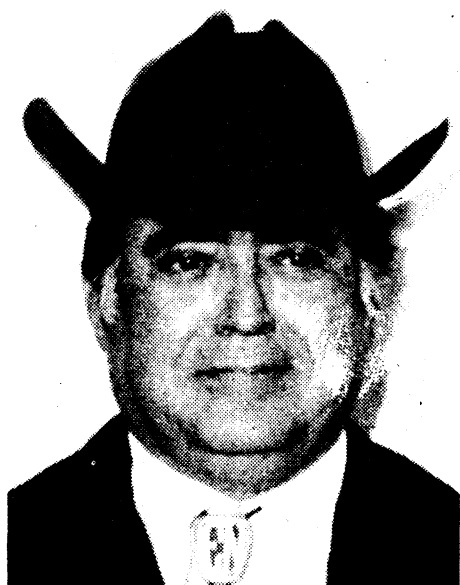
# N. Mex. Raza Unida leader beats trumped-up drug charge

By José G. Pérez

The New Mexico Raza Unida party won an important victory December 2 when a jury found Moisés Morales not guilty of marijuana possession.

Morales was the Raza Unida candidate for sheriff of Rio Arriba County in last November's election. Shortly after he announced his candidacy, then-Sheriff Emilio Naranjo and deputies Anthony Griego and Rubén Vigil accused Morales of possession.

Naranjo has run the county as a personal fief for more than two decades. He is boss of the local Democratic party. Although Naranjo was prevented by state law from seeking reelection as sheriff, Morales charged the drug arrest was an attempt to throw the election to Naranjo's deputy and handpicked successor, Rubén Vigil.



EMILIO NARANJO: Faces \$1 million damage suit.

Morales demanded that the trial be held before the election, so the balloting could be conducted without a cloud of suspicion over his head.

But Naranjo's lawyers succeeded in getting the trial postponed until the end of November, and Vigil won the election.

The trial lasted four days. According to the December 24 issue of *SEER'S Rio Grande Weekly*, a newspaper published in Albuquerque, New Mexico, the highlight of the trial was the testimony of ex-deputy Leonard Montoya.

Montoya said he had observed other arrests where evidence was planted on the suspect. He also said that Vigil had in effect admitted to him that Morales had been set up.

Morales took and passed a lie detector test confirming he was innocent. He also testified in his own defense.

After one-and-a-half hours of deliberation, the jury came back and said they believed Morales rather than Naranjo and his deputies.

The day following his acquittal, Morales filed a \$1 million civil damage suit against Naranjo and others.

The latest loss by Naranjo keeps unbroken his record of failing to win a single case against members of either the Raza Unida party or the Cooperativa del Pueblo in Tierra Amarilla. Although the two groups aren't affiliated with each other, members of both have criticized Naranjo's "political bossism."

In addition, Naranjo and his deputies have faced civil suits filed by their victims. Two of those suits, involving people who had been beaten by Naranjo's deputies, were settled out of court for substantial amounts.

Still pending against Naranjo and



MOISES MORALES: Passes lie-detector test proving his innocence.

his deputies is a \$35,000 damage suit filed by Anthony Quintana. Quintana charges that Naranjo's deputies beat him without provocation, and that Naranjo was negligent in supervising his men.

Another suit, filed by the Cooperativa del Pueblo in Tierra Amarilla, demands \$1 million in damages for a raid Naranjo and his deputies carried out against the Cooperativa.

The trumped-up assault charges against Antonio "Ike" De Vargas, chairperson of the Rio Arriba County Raza Unida party, are still pending. Last September, one of Naranjo's cops pulled a gun on De Vargas without provocation, and De Vargas disarmed the cop.

# ...District 31 campaign

Continued from page 5

and fund-raisers were held nearly every night.

On the other side, the Steelworkers Fight Back organization was largely dormant from November 1974, when Sadlowski won the directorship in a government-supervised rerun of the stolen 1973 vote, until July 1976.

In the middle of this period many of the activists worked on the five-month election campaign of Miriam Balanoff, who ran for state legislature as a liberal Democrat.

When the Sadlowski supporters mobilized for the April 1976 elections of local union officers, they swept many elections across the district.

These victories testify to the broadening of support for the Fight Back program. But they also tied up many activists with local union responsibilities that have restricted the role they could play in the presidential campaign.

When Fight Back began to organize nationally in July 1976, just before the USWA convention, several leading activists took vacation time and layoff status to travel throughout the United States and Canada for Fight Back.

Thus during much of the fall the Fight Back organization focused on building up its national apparatus, while McBride's campaign, assured of the automatic support of staffers throughout the international, focused on District 31.

By October when Fight Back announced its official candidate for District 31 director—Jim Balanoff, president of Local 1010—many Sadlowski supporters had already committed themselves to one of the other candidates. Thus Balanoff received about thirty fewer nominations than Sadlowski as some Fight Back supporters split their ticket.

One of the other candidates is Black subdistrict director James Baker, who has gotten support from many of the district's Black steelworkers and from Black political figures in Chicago. Baker gives support—sometimes open, sometimes backhanded—to McBride.

Another staff candidate, Emmett Palmer, has based his campaign on small shops and non-industry-conference locals, which resent the growing gap between their wages, working conditions, and benefits and those of the basic steel and other large locals. Some shops have responded to this appeal.

Sadlowski's loss of three major steel local nominations—Local 1014 at U.S. Steel's Gary Works, Local 1011 at Youngstown Sheet and Tube in East Chicago, and Local 6787 at Bethlehem Steel in Burns Harbor—illustrates some of the developments and problems in the district campaign.

At Local 1014 former local President Harry Piasecki used his machine, now

in the hands of a Piasecki protégé, to secure an overwhelming "favorite son" nomination for himself for district director, while facilitating McBride's nomination by the local.

Piasecki is known in his local as a critic of the international union and has declared his "neutrality" in the presidential contest. Piasecki, like many of the district director candidates, has tried to identify with some of the popular themes of the Fight Back program.

But, like every other district candidate except Balanoff, Piasecki has never opposed the policies of the Abel bureaucracy in practice or on the floor of union conventions.

A combination of factors produced McBride nominations at Locals 1011 and 6787. One was the splitting of support among the ranks of previous Sadlowski backers for several district candidates, most of whom were openly pro-McBride.

Second, the constant red-baiting against Steelworkers Fight Back and Jim Balanoff in particular has made some steelworkers uneasy.

Most important, though, was the overconfidence of Fight Back leaders and activists during the nominations period. In these locals the Fight Back supporters simply failed to match the efforts of the district staffers and other pro-McBride forces to bring out the vote for their candidate.

The nominations results in District 31 made many Fight Back activists aware of the danger of overconfidence in this race. Since then several top organizers have been assigned to the district to produce the biggest possible winning margin for Sadlowski there.

A large vote for the Sadlowski team in District 31, the largest in the union, will be critical in the international race. It can help compensate for areas where Fight Back support is weak or uncertain.

Special efforts are being made to secure the largest possible vote, such as pressing for plant-gate voting on election day rather than voting at the sometimes distant union halls. (Each local decides where its polling places will be.)

However, one prominent Fight Back supporter in Chicago—John Chico, president of Sadlowski's home Local 65—recently opposed and defeated a motion for plant-gate voting by that local. Chico claimed it would be too costly.

Five Fight Back offices have been opened in the district—in South Chicago and the city's west side in Illinois, and in East Chicago, Gary, and Laporte in Indiana—and are operating at high gear.

Major rallies, fund-raising events, and continual plant-gate leafleting are planned for the final weeks of the election drive.

Abel recently dropped his pretense of neutrality in the race, vowed to resign if Sadlowski is elected, and declared he would "do anything in my power" to stop a victory for the Fight Back slate.

Other top-line AFL-CIO officials have joined in public denunciations of Sadlowski. They seek to poison union members' minds against Fight Back by branding it a tool of "outsiders." (See story on page 19.)

A Sadlowski victory depends on a massive outpouring of the ranks to campaign and to vote. Thousands of steelworkers are seething with discontent over the policies and practices of the Abel bureaucracy. They are ready for a change toward democratic, militant trade unionism that puts the workers' interests first.

The Fight Back candidates can lead the way toward such a union movement. And they can win this election by tapping this readiness for change, organizing its expression at the polls, and fighting to achieve an honest count.

# Calendar

## BALTIMORE

**WOMEN IN 1977: THE ISSUES THAT CONFRONT US.** Speakers: Marcella Scuyler, president, Baltimore NOW; Phyllis Lee, SWP; others. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

## DENVER

**GRAND JURY OKs FBI CRIMES.** Speaker: Ruth Getts, PRDF. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. Denver Univ. Law School, 14th St. and Bannock, Room 204. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 837-1018.

## EAST LOS ANGELES

**THE STEELWORKERS ELECTION AND THE FIGHT FOR UNION DEMOCRACY.** Speakers: Jack Shepherd, USWA Local 2058; John T. Williams, business agent, Teamsters Local 208; José González, UAW Local 923. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 265-1347.

## MINNEAPOLIS

**WOMEN'S RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK.** Speaker: Faith Einerson, socialist-feminist and member of SWP. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For location or more information call (612) 825-6663.

## NEWARK

**PUERTO RICO: INDEPENDENCE OR STATEHOOD?** Speakers to be announced. Thurs., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Broadway Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

## NEW YORK

**FILMS.** Eisenstein's *The General Line*. Fri. & Sat., Jan. 14 & 15, 7 p.m. & 9:30 p.m. School for Marxist Education, 186 W. 4th St., 7th Floor. Admission: \$2. Next weekend: Fritz Lang's *The Woman and the Moon*. Ausp: Marxist Education Collective. For more information call (212) 989-6493.

## NEW YORK: QUEENS

**THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY IN STEEL.** Speakers: Andy Rose, Militant staff writer and author of *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*; others. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (corner Jamaica Ave.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Queens Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**THE FIGHT AGAINST RACIST FRAME-UPS.** Speakers: Jeff Fogel, attorney for John Artis; representatives of Gary Tyler Defense Committee and NSCAR. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (near 98th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PITTSBURGH

**ABORTION RIGHTS IN DANGER.** Speakers: Mary Ellen Tunney, director, Women's Health Services, Pittsburgh Abortion Clinic; Regina Sestak, attorney; Jeanne Clark, task force coordinator for Southwestern Pennsylvania NOW; Carla Hoag, SWP. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. (near Negley). Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

## PORTLAND, ORE.

**PANEL ON THE DEATH PENALTY.** Speakers: Rev. John Jackson; Charles F. Hinkle, chairperson, Oregon ACLU. Thurs., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. Mallory Ave. Church, 126 NE Alberta. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

## THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND STALINISM.

Two classes by Fred Feldman, associate editor, *International Socialist Review*. Sun., Jan. 30, 5 p.m. and 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

## CHINA AFTER MAO.

Speaker: Fred Feldman. Mon., Jan. 31, 8 p.m. 3928 N. Williams Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

## ST. LOUIS: WESTEND

**NO TO THE DEATH PENALTY.** Speakers: Doris Black, ACLU attorney; Ed Warren, cochairperson, St. Louis 1977 SWP Campaign Committee. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**COMMUNITY MEETING IN DEFENSE OF THE BLACK MAJORITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.** Film: *The Last Grave at Dimbaza*. Speakers: representative of Southern African Liberation Movement and community activists Claude Carpenter and Sam Jordan. Thurs., Jan. 20, 7:30 p.m. Library, 3rd and Revere (Bayview/Hunters Point). Ausp: March 26 Committee in Defense of the Black Majority in Southern Africa; Northern California Alliance; and Student Coalition Against Racism. For more information call (415) 626-8298.

## SEATTLE/TACOMA

**CHINA AFTER MAO.** Speaker: Fred Feldman, associate editor, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. Univ. of Washington, HUB 309A. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum and YSA. For more information call (206) 522-7800 or 329-7404.

## THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND STALINISM.

Two classes by Fred Feldman. Sat., Jan. 29, 11:30 a.m. & 2:30 p.m. Univ. of Washington, HUB 309A. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Militant Forum and YSA. For more information call (206) 522-7800 or 329-7404.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SPEAK-OUT AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY.** Speakers: representatives from lawyers, students, and civil liberties groups. Fri., Jan. 21, 8 p.m. Howard Univ., Locke Hall, Room 105, 2400 6th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Georgia Ave. Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 667-1970.

# ...pesticide

Continued from page 14

Food and Drug Administration, or other federal agencies.

Bitter industry resistance to any "premarket" testing of chemical products resulted in an extensive—and successful—lobbying effort to water down the legislation.

After Congress passed a greatly weakened version of the act last September, Du Pont Vice-president Richard Heckert told *Business Week* that the law was "not perfect, but it represents a balanced view that came out of extensive negotiations."

In other words, it was another attempt at "regulation" the chemical industry could easily live with.

# ...Houston

Continued from page 20

who's not for these bullshit programs they're putting down.

"These people [who are supporting the company against Morris] call themselves union people. But they're not union people. All they're doing now—not accepting me as their president—they're just tearing down the union.

"Most of them are doing it for the simple fact that I'm not white. It's a lot of racism going on out there."

"This will not only affect me,"

# ...battle

Continued from page 5

been required to inform Sadlowski of each local's polling and vote-counting place prior to the election, should the locals fail to do so themselves. The international has also agreed to certify bona fide observers for Sadlowski who face resistance from local union officials.

In addition, Sadlowski has established an Observer Project to watch the polls on election day, February 8. The project—funded by money raised by the Sadlowski camp alone—will try to place USWA members in every polling place in the United States, Canada, and Puerto Rico to prevent the massive fraud that has marked previous USWA elections.

One indication of the growing rank-and-file support for the Sadlowski slate as election day approaches is the evident alarm of the union bureaucracy.

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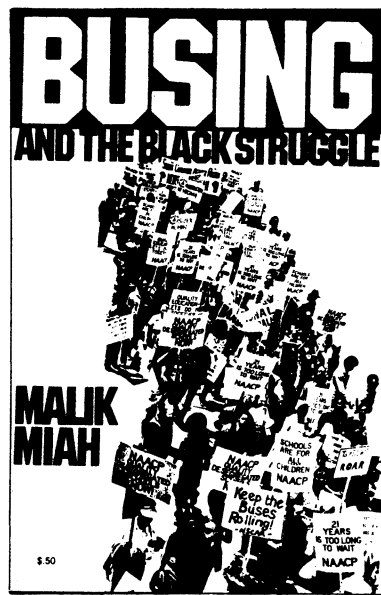
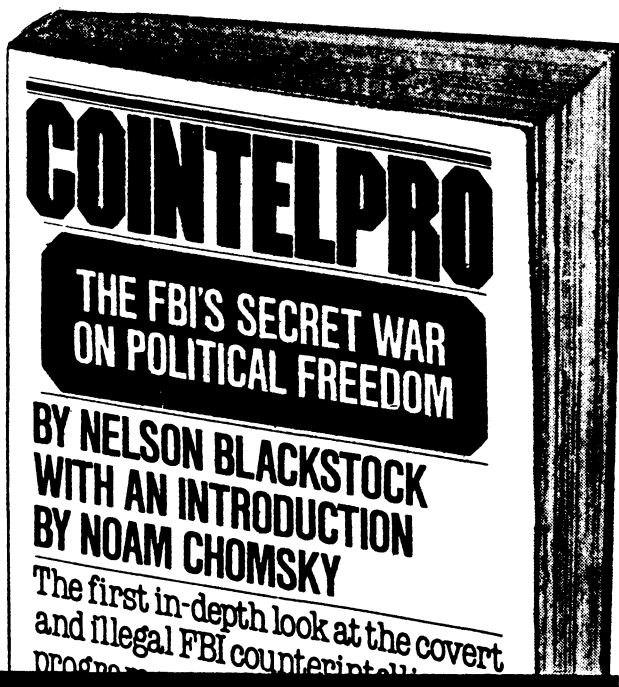
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**Muncie:** YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

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## GRIFFIN BELL Carter's att'y general says yes to death penalty, no to school busing

By Arnold Weissberg

WASHINGTON—An estimated 90 percent of Blacks voting in November cast their ballots for Jimmy Carter.

They chose Carter because they hoped his administration would bring jobs and equality.

The president-elect's nomination of Griffin Bell as attorney general has already helped shatter many of these hopes.

Bell's nomination ran headlong into widespread opposition from Black, women's, and civil liberties groups during Senate confirmation hearings that began January 11.

Testimony before the Judiciary Committee—including Bell's own remarks—showed him to be a hardened opponent of school desegregation and champion of the death penalty.

In the 1950s Bell was a top aide to arch-segregationist Georgia Governor Ernest Vandiver. While campaigning for office, Vandiver declared "there is not enough money in the federal treasury to force us to mix the races in the classroom."

Griffin Bell was hired to make that campaign pledge a reality.

One of his first jobs for Vandiver was a trip to Virginia to study legislation in that state designed to resist school desegregation.

The result of Bell's trip was a similar package of laws for Georgia. One of these bills, for instance, would have barred the use of tax revenues for integrated schools.

Bell has attempted to pass himself off as a moderate on civil rights. As an example of his "moderation," Bell pointed to a bill he wrote that would have closed any integrated school. This law, he told the senators, was "moderate" compared to a previous law that required closing the entire school district if even one school was integrated.

Far from repudiating this record, Bell is proud of it. In response to a senator's comment that Vandiver was still a great admirer of Bell's, the nominee said, "I hope so." Vandiver recently called Bell "one of the finest people I ever knew," according to one senator.

At the hearings, Bell reiterated his opposition to busing, which he said should be used only as a "last

resort." He told the committee that he didn't think courts should order district-wide busing, especially in big cities.

The Justice Department currently has responsibility for more than 100 school desegregation cases. Bell's record and testimony make clear he will do little, if anything, to assure equal education for Blacks and other minorities.

Nor will Blacks find much help from Bell's boss at the White House. As governor of Georgia, Carter publicly threatened to support a racist one-day school boycott in Augusta, Georgia, unless the state legislature called on Congress to initiate a constitutional amendment against busing.

Busing is not the only area where the president-elect and his nominee agree. "My position is the same as Governor Carter" on the death penalty, Bell told the senators—both favor it. "The death penalty is warranted in some cases," Bell asserted.

Despite Bell's openly racist record, the senators treated him deferentially. They congratulated him on his appointment and asked only routine questions. Liberal Democrat Birch Bayh was effusive in his praise.

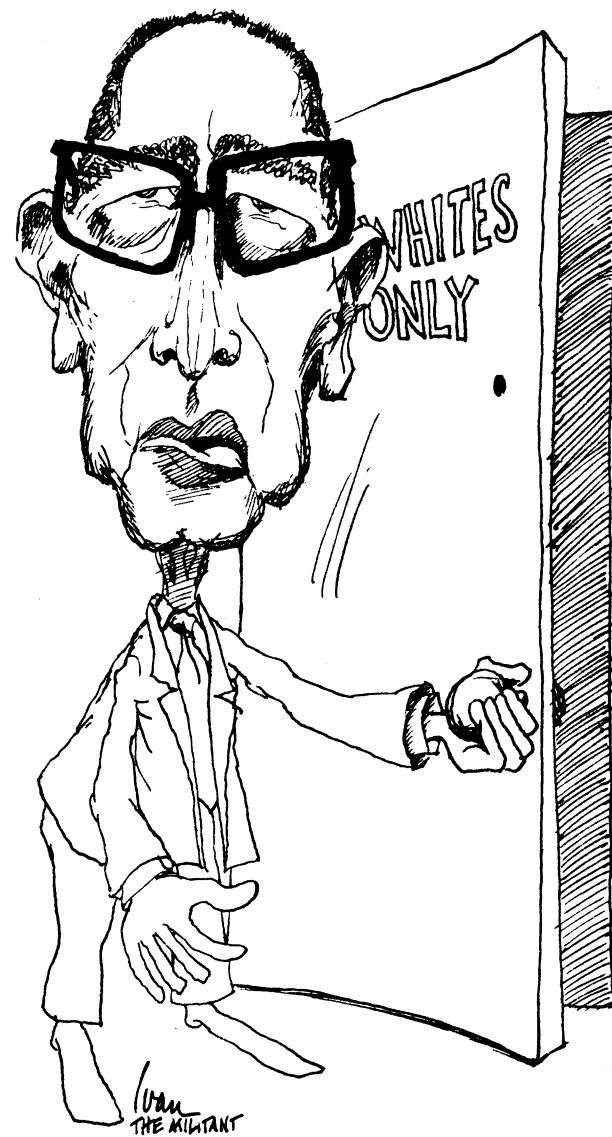
Others, however, are not so pleased with Bell.

Clarence Mitchell, Washington Bureau director of the NAACP, told the senators that Bell's nomination held out the prospect of "retreat instead of progress towards our goal of equality under the law."

Willie Mae Reid, 1976 Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, released a statement pointing out that Bell's nomination "shows the kind of justice that is in store for Blacks, the poor, and all those who dissent in this country."

"One of Bell's first tasks," Reid said, "will be to polish up the tarnished image of the FBI."

"The Socialist Workers party's lawsuit against the FBI and other government spy agencies has provided a picture of FBI agents burglarizing offices, authoring poison-pen letters, harassing innocent citizens, tampering with mail, acting as provocateurs in a legal political party, disrupting elections—and then denying everything under oath until denying or covering up was no longer possible."



"There's no reason to think that Griffin Bell would change any of this," Reid said.

"Are Blacks and other minorities," she asked, "to expect evenhanded justice from someone who belonged to racist social clubs that exclude Blacks?"

Is Bell likely to defend equal rights for women, stand up for the right to abortion, insist that affirmative-action programs be implemented to redress centuries of inequality?"

Also scheduled to testify against Bell were Rep. Parren Mitchell of the Congressional Black Caucus, American Civil Liberties Union, National Organization for Women, and National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

## Boston busing decision upheld

By Robb Wright

BOSTON—The U.S. Supreme Court refused January 10 to review Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity's order placing South Boston High School in receivership.

In refusing to hear an appeal filed by the all-white Boston School Committee, the court upheld last summer's decision by a lower court backing Garrity's take-over of the school.

Garrity's December 1975 decision to place South Boston High in receivership followed a rash of violent attacks on Black students both inside the school and in the surrounding area. City officials and the racist school committee made no attempt to stop these physical and verbal assaults.

In response to these attempts to disrupt desegregation, attorneys for

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